

Volume 6, Number 44 / 75 cents



Our Schools

Learn Baby Learn

Rural Power Chokes Illinois Schools

Administrators Beware:

Teachers on the Loose

Is Missouri School Reorganization
a Dead Issue?

The Police War Against Activists



OUT OF FOCUS

(Readers are invited to submit items for publication, indicating whether the sender can be identified. Items must be fully documented and not require any comment.)

Officials of the St. Louis suburban school districts are organized in the "Co-operating School Districts of St. Louis Suburban Area." Some school districts are rich, others are poor. One of them, Kinloch, is very poor. So the "co-operating" officials have two classes of membership: Kinloch is not a participating member but does pay a \$5 fee and is entitled to attend all meetings of the group — *but is not permitted to vote.*

Governor Warren E. Hearnes, reports the *Kansas City Call*, became an honorary Georgia Cracker by appointment of Gov. Lester Maddox of Georgia. Hearnes not only accepted the appointment, but he put his arm around good ole Maddox and called him friend. The *Call* declares, "We are surprised, flabbergasted and disgusted to have a Georgia Cracker as the governor of Missouri. Governor Hearnes owes the people of Missouri an apology for playing "footsie" with Lester Maddox."

Chicago's E. Clement Stone, head of the Combined Insurance Company of America (and not a resident of San Francisco), donated \$100,000 to support S. I. Hayakawa, acting president of San Francisco State College, and his personal press secretary, Mike Teilmann (also not a resident of San Francisco), was given an office on campus by the administration from which to conduct his "positive" press relations on behalf of Hayakawa. In the same week, the acting president denounced non-campus supporters of local student activists as "outside" agitators.

Public Law 831, 81st Congress, Title II, Section 100 of the Internal Security Act of 1950 (known also as the McCarran Act), empowers the U. S. Government, on orders of the President, to hold citizens in detention (concentration?) camps. All normal judicial procedures are declared void under this act, which was passed over President Truman's veto.

Senator James O. Eastland is a welfare recipient. Eastland, who now makes \$42,500 as a senator received a handout of \$157,930 from Mississippi for not planting crops in 1967, or about \$439 a day. L. F. Palmer, Jr., writing in the *Chicago Daily News*, points out the respectability of accepting subsidies, but not welfare. He also quotes former Treasury Secretary Joseph W. Barr, who estimates that 50 billion dollars a year is lost in tax loopholes, almost exclusively for the benefit of the wealthy. The total cost of all welfare programs in 1968: 9.8 billion.

Det. Jack Muller, who works in the Auto Theft Division of the Chicago Police Department, had noted several instances in which policemen failed to inventory and return stolen property, instead keeping it for themselves. Muller reported this fact to a commanding officer, who sent the information to the city-wide commander of the Auto Theft Division. When Detective Muller had received no indication that his charges were being actively investigated, he then took the case to Superintendent Conlisk. Two weeks later Muller was interviewed by reporters from WMAQ-TV, at which time he disclosed the existence and contents of his charges for the first time. When he was asked by a reporter why he had not taken his information first to the Internal Investigations Division of the Police Department, Muller replied, "The IID is like a great big washing machine. Everything they put into it comes out clean." Detective Muller was summoned on February 13 and again on February 16, 1968 to Police Headquarters to receive an oral reprimand for his comments to newsmen. Muller refused to accept the oral reprimand and asked for a hearing before the Police Department's Disciplinary Board. This hearing was held on March 13, 1968, at which time the Board ordered that a written reprimand be entered on Detective Muller's hitherto unblemished record.

Bill Baird is facing jail in Massachusetts for felonious "crimes against chastity." At a rally last year he exhibited a birth control pill (5 years maximum) and gave a girl a package of contraceptive foam (that's another 5). Now he has run up against CBS-TV censorship. During a 30-minute segment of the March 12 Mike Douglas show, Baird discussed abortion and abortion laws and illustrated his explanation with a plastic uterus. The show is shown in major cities and in Canada but banned in New York. Baird told CBS: "On the 6 p.m. news one can see people starving to death in Biafra or being blown up in Vietnam, yet a plastic uterus is too offensive to be shown." CBS' George Dessart, director of community affairs, replied that no responsible parent would let his child watch the six o'clock news.

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Our Apologies

We very much regret the delay in publishing this issue. The original difficulty stemmed from the fact that we tried to press 80 pages of material into 40 — when we finally gave up and decided to publish not one but two issues on education (Nos. 44 and 45). Since you, our readers, have borne the delay with great understanding, we are rewarding you with the publication of two issues *simultaneously*. We hope that this will restore us in your good graces.



Letters

The Chicago Museum of Contemporary Art

F/M: Robert Loescher's article on the Museum of Contemporary Art is very perceptive, knowledgeable and inclusive. I hope thousands of people read it and gain a true understanding of our kind of a contemporary museum, which Mr. Loescher imparts so excellently. Thank you for covering the "scene" here in Chicago. This kind of exposure is needed very sorely.

Doris Lane Butler

*Director of Public Relations and
Secretary to the Board of Trustees
Museum of Contemporary Art
Chicago, Illinois*

"The World Press" on the Violence at the Democratic Convention

F/M: . . . It's a splendid job. . . .

Gilbert Harrison

Editor-in-Chief

The Jewish Community

The Jewish Community

F/M: I was most interested in your, what I thought, rather mild editorial (Volume 6, Number 41) regarding the involvement of Jews in matters of civil rights. As you know, this is a subject of very great interest to me.

I agree that individual Jews have been in the forefront of the civil rights movement. But Jewish institutions — with very few exceptions — have not. The reasons are not too far to seek out. One is that what appears as a fear of anti-Semitism turns out to be little more than a cloak that protects nouveau riche conservatism, the conservatism of recently acquired wealth. Another lies in the undemocratic character of Jewish community life, run, manipulated and dominated by people whose main allegiance is to a business ethic, here and there tempered by often self-serving humanism.

The recent experiences in the Baltimore and Washington areas after the murder of Dr. King are illustrative. While again some Jewish individuals saw the riots for what they were, one has the impression that the vast majority of the Jewish community did not. The concern was not with the victims — the Negroes — who finally hit back; quite to the contrary, large numbers in the Jewish business community did as if they were the victims and the black people the aggressors. And with a few rare exceptions, most rabbis were once again silent, absolutely silent,

some worried about cancellations of building fund pledges. This, while 6,000 human beings crowded the jails of Baltimore and many other thousands did the same in Washington. To my knowledge only one Washington rabbi started some serious discussion with his congregation about what happened. A large Jewish organization that tried to work with the community received a good deal of support — from non-Jewish sources and was at the time condemned by a number of Jewish groups for being more concerned with "them" than the Jewish community.

The relevance of Judaism lies not in intermarriage rates, not in gleaming new buildings while millions hunger, nor in more schools. It lies in its relevance to the major miseries of the day and of all time: war, discrimination and hunger. And if it cannot be found there, it will not only continue to lose millions of younger people, it will lose itself and disappear from the face of the earth.

Hans S. Falck

*Professor, School of Social Work
University of Maryland*

(Note: Professor Falk is a former Professor of Social Work at Washington University.)

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Donald Finkel New Poetry Editor

Donald Finkel has been named poetry editor of FOCUS/Midwest. He succeeds Webster Schott of Kansas City who has been poetry editor since the magazine's start of publication in 1962. Schott had to resign for personal reasons. "The literary excellence of the poems published in past years reflects the high editorial and critical faculties which Webster Schott brought to FOCUS/Midwest," declared Charles L. Klotzer, editor and publisher of FOCUS/Midwest. "Many of the poets published such as Dave Etter ("The Red Nude," Hill and Wang), Winfield Townley Scott ("New and Selected Poems," Doubleday and Co.), Thomas McAfee (I'll Be Home Late Tonight," University of Missouri Press) and others have had poems — which first appeared in FOCUS/Midwest — republished in book form by distinguished publishing houses. These poets as well as FOCUS/Midwest highly value Webster Schott's assistance and great contribution to excellence in literary expression."

Donald Finkel, poet in residence at Washington University, is the author of five books, has been published widely in literary magazines, and is represented in a number of anthologies. He spent last year in Vermont on a Guggenheim fellowship. He previously taught at the University of Iowa, Bard College, and Bennington College. He holds Bachelor's and Master's degrees from Columbia University.

Atheneum will shortly publish his latest book "Holy Smoke." His other books are: The Clothing's New Emperor (in Scribner's Poets of Today VI, 1959); Simeon (Atheneum, 1964); A Joyful Noise (Atheneum, 1966); and Answer Back (Atheneum, 1968).

The Police War Against Activists in Kansas City, East St. Louis, Chicago, etc.

The police of our cities — such as in Kansas City, St. Louis, or Chicago — are called upon to deal with the tensions, the hates, and the frustrations created by centuries of mistreatment of America's minorities. It shouldn't be their job, but city administrations in particular and the system of our law agencies in general have left no alternative. Can we then blame the police for not always recognizing all the causes for offensive acts? Can we blame them for reacting with emotion and excessive force when brought face to face with a situation which has been festering for centuries?

Yes, we certainly can.

In incident after incident, city after city, it has been proven that the man on the beat reflects the sentiment of his superiors and the city administration. He will control himself if that's the word. Or he will act out in the most brutal manner if he has received the green light.

In St. Louis and Kansas City, the situation is somewhat complicated by the fact that the police is controlled by the state and not the city (although the city meets the entire budget of the police). But the facts remain the same. The superiors, in this case the police chief and the state administration, determine police behavior.

The experiences of the Blackstone Rangers in Chicago, the Warlords in East St. Louis, the Liberators in St. Louis, and Soul, Inc. and the Panthers in Kansas City provide ample evidence that it is the ultimate political authority and not the man on the beat who should be held responsible.

Yes, we can blame the police if we mean by "police" the police chief and those superiors who run the political show.

More serious than police overreaction to petty incidents, is the well established fact that many incidents are initiated by the police. Many of these groups face daily provocations, some are taunted by police, and others have been told, such as Gary O'Neal in Kansas City, that the police are just itching for an opportunity to kill them. We fully realize that these are serious accusations. But a reading of reports published in the *National Catholic Reporter* and Kansas City's *Community Now* weekly, and information we have gathered on our own, all substantiate these conclusions.

It is irrelevant whether members of these militant groups (and we use the word "militant" more as a cliché than a factual description) are likely aspirants for sainthood. What we are discussing now is the qualifications of the police and its superiors.

Law and order can only be maintained if (1) the police acts professionally and without personal spite, (2) the police acts under established judicial rules of due process and does not single out any one person or group for harassment, and (3) the policeman knows that his acts are under close scrutiny by his superiors as well as public media and preferably a civilian independent body.

If these essentials become established procedure, a relationship of trust and good will between the community and the police would ensue.

The flare-up in Kansas City between Soul, Inc., the Panthers and the police is a classic example of ineptness and ill will.

The police department encouraged violence in the

IN THIS ISSUE

This is the first of two issues dealing with education. In this issue, the emphasis is on public education. J. A. Walker lays bare the unhealthy dominance of rural representation on Illinois school boards; Murray A. Smith tells of the disorientation and disorganization of teachers in Missouri; and Rep. James I. Spainhower, David L. Colton, and Adolph Unruh *et al* individually analyse the reorganization and equalization of school districts in Missouri, a lively issue for years to come. The "Upward Bound" program, its impact and limitations, is the theme of Leonard A. Batterson Jr.'s article.

The coming issue — part two of our focus on education — will include detailed studies of unrest and confrontations on several Illinois and Missouri campuses.

tense urban ghetto by irrational and provocative behavior.

The police department used a petty incident of a black man's quarrel with a policeman's wife (she used obscenities) to obtain a municipal court conviction — of the complainant. This, in turn, led to the birth of the Black Panthers in Kansas City.

The police department then escalated its harassment of the Panthers by instituting a systematic neighborhood surveillance, stopping everyone who left Panthers headquarters and searching everyone who failed to give "satisfactory" answers on the spot. Among others, they harassed, jailed, and abused members of Soul, Inc. who solicited and distributed food to needy families.

While the *Kansas City Star* suppressed reports on the harassment, the *National Catholic Reporter* and the local *Community Now* gave its readers front-page accounts. In fact, the *Kansas City Star* allowed itself to be used as a tool by the police, giving its readers onesided and slanted news, feeding ghetto frustrations and reinforcing the contention that "law" and "public media" are instruments of white racism.

A policeman's personal vendetta coupled with the Ku Klux Klan mentalities of many white officers, a corrupt press, and a police administration which refuses to learn brought Kansas City to the point of eruption in mid-February. Thanks to the diligent, behind-the-scene work of several Kansas City liberals a disaster was averted. It resulted in a somewhat conciliatory, somewhat arrogant public statement by Police Chief C. M. Kelley, which cooled tempers and at least proclaimed a truce.

If the police chief would stick out his neck far enough, he could see Kansas City, Kansas, where today 20 per cent of the police force are black. Since the disastrous Kansas City riot a year ago, black representation on the Kansas City (Mo.) police has increased — by 0.9 per cent. Now there are 6.4 per cent blacks on the force, against 20 per cent in the city's population. At this rate it will be 1984 before the city can boast a fair percentage of black officers.

Whites cannot conceivably imagine life with a black face. It means guilty until proven innocent in Kansas City or anywhere else. Charles Jeffries, head of the East St. Louis Warlords, was arrested without bail. Why? It was alleged that one in a gang of killers shouted "Mighty Warlords" in the shooting of seven

(continued on page 17)



An Upward Bound Student

*I lived my life in a frenzied fuss.
For noise nowadays is a must.
To be heard above the crowd
You must yell very loud
And when what you want you
Have achieved.
Most people think you are only
Make believe,
Or rather they wish that way;
For they do not want to bear your
Mouth today,
But if I could leave I would all
But rush.
For you see I've learned to love
This frenzied fuss.*



Meet an Upward Bound Student. He lives in our city streets, attends our schools, endures our teaching. He is not yet a rioter, but may take dope or drink lemon extract. We are not doing much of a job for him. Perhaps his coming into our schools is threatening. Perhaps we don't want to hear his mouth today. (We could all be reading about his fire-bomb — tomorrow.) He just graduated from Webster College's Upward Bound Program. We listened and disarmed him.

We began listening in January of 1963 when the presidents of several predominately Negro colleges met with Jerome B. Wiesner, then science advisor to President Kennedy. These college presidents were anxious. Their schools were facing the crisis of the dropout. Over 70 per cent of those entering were failing to graduate. Later top personnel in educational research and development gathered, and out of their meetings and findings came a report which is an indictment of inner city education. This report became the basis of the Webster College Upward Bound — Pre-College Program which together with the program of five other centers was designed by Educational Service Inc. (now Institute for Services to Education) of Newton, Massachusetts. These Programs were first funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York and later by the Office of Economic Opportunity. The Program Mission: to salvage wasted young talent and substitute fulfillment for the frustrations of the ghetto.

The indictments — and the challenges in the report are:

Count 1: "Neither in his school nor in his home has the Negro student been encouraged to acquire the habits of crisp, economical speech or attentive listening."

Count 2: "In a nominal sense, he has learned to read, but he is likely to read obediently, in response to a directive. He is the servant of books, rather than master."

Count 3: "Somewhere during his schooling the relationship has been lost that should link formal education with his own human development as an individual within society. History, literature, and the arts are mastered, if they are mastered at all, in relation to examinations and promotion; their true significance to the whole man is lost. They cease, in short to be humanistic studies and become items in a curriculum that exist only for its own sake."

Count 4: "His academic knowledge, for the most part, rests on the authority of his teacher or his teacher's textbook. In the discipline of school and college, he has little notion of how one sets out to elicit information which has not first been codified by someone else . . . his approach to formal education is artificial and unreal."

Count 5: "These deficiencies must be remedied before the freshman can begin to profit from a college education."

Instead of remedying the deficiencies of overcrowded grade schools, our inner city high schools are contributing

Learn Baby Learn /

LEONARD A. BATTERSON, JR.

to the educational lag. It is difficult to profit from an education which divides students into tracks, unconsciously marks track two dumb, and track three merely present, and leaves little room to move up. School administrators will argue that the track system allows each student to progress at his own rate and that the tracking process is sensitive to a student's changing needs and aspirations, but many teachers view tracking as only a one-way track, which for many leads straight out of school, or, at best, provides a system of social segregation.

Although we might give some inner city teachers fresh chalk for risking their lives and sanity, the majority get crumbs and the systems they serve little better. An Upward Bound student at Webster observes: "I have teachers at school who talk to me before class as a friend, but others if I talk to them, they think that I'm making a pitch for a grade or something . . . grades I wasn't interested in . . . you talk human to some teachers and they kind of resent it."

The problem of frustrated teachers and "turned off" students is neither new nor unusual. It is this "turned off" student that Webster's Upward Bound Pre-College Program was designed to help.

Program Motivates Youth

The Webster Program first opened its classes of opportunity in the spring of 1965 as one of the six pre-college centers financed by the Carnegie Corporation of New York through a grant to Educational Services Incorporated. These enrichment sessions were held on the Webster campus on Saturdays. During the winter of 1965-66 the Office of Economic Opportunity took over the funding of the pre-college center as demonstration projects for its Upward Bound Program which now number 250 nationwide. The summer sessions, under OEO, were extended to residential programs, and all students were recruited within OEO poverty guidelines.

Webster's Program has now passed through four years of operation. Returns for the first two years show that in motivation the risk student, the high school senior or graduate who comes from a disadvantaged environment and whose school experiences are based on a middle-class curriculum, Webster's Upward Bound Program is succeeding.

During the spring and summer of 1965, 142 students attended intensive academic and cultural enrichment classes at the Webster Program. Ninety-four of the students had just graduated from high school; forty-eight would be seniors in September. Ninety per cent of the students were from families under the income limitation set by the OEO, and the other ten per cent were recruited because of their deprived social and economic circumstances.

Eighty-four per cent of students eligible enrolled in some type of educational institution, and two per cent in some other type of institution such as data processing or business

school.

These results are obviously striking. One of the most urgent problems mentioned in the Report on which Webster's Program is based was the . . . "staggering dropout rate among freshmen in Negro colleges. One-third or more of the entering class is likely to surrender its aspirations for higher education before the first term of the freshman year has been completed." Webster's policy to recruit risk students could easily have led to an increase in this dropout rate, but only six per cent of Webster's pre-college alumni dropped out during the freshman year. Satisfactory work was being produced by 78 per cent of these first-year students. Out of 150 students enrolled in the winter of '65-66, 76 per cent were succeeding after one year of college, and many others entered the armed services or job and management training programs. Only three students from the Summer Program of '66 dropped out of college during their first year. For the '67 summer over 90 per cent of those graduating from high school and attending the program were admitted to higher education. The colleges are as diverse as the kids — from the local Junior College and Missouri University to Washington University, Harvard, Princeton, Antioch, the University of Chicago, and schools of the deep south.

The cost of the Program is about \$1,000 per student for one summer and winter in the Program. If this student were to drop out of high school or college and wind up on the welfare rolls, he could easily cost the taxpayer during his lifetime over \$100,000.

Upward Bound Is Different

If, as many contend, the city school systems are failing, why is Webster's Upward Bound doing better?

Webster's Upward Bound has eliminated examinations, grading, and detailed lesson plans. It provides situations in which teachers and students can move in whatever direction greater insight demands. Answers are of little concern, but it is immensely concerned with each student's process of reaching his conclusions — with his problem-solving ability. It may consider a sincere lie as half-way to the truth.

It attempts to be a latter-day Socrates and through an inductive approach which emphasizes student participation and independent speculation, it creates an environment where each student can find his own way, and can question both teachers and classmates without fear.

Emphasis is placed on analyzing, initiating, and creating. At Webster, the student is responsible for his education. He is likely to get what he gives, and he is provoked into giving. The aim is the subject — not the subject matter — challenging the student with new experiences to throw off what is warped and to develop new powers. English, mathematics and science classes, special workshops, cultural, and recreational activities are offered in a setting which proclaims:

learning can be fun. Young college and graduate students are used in the Program. These program assistants live in the dorms with the students, and represent what college life can be.

One student commenting on Webster's methods said: "In school you can't express freedom . . . like your ideas are washed down the drain . . . in school you're either right or wrong . . . here you're challenged . . . I didn't know that a lot of times in high school I've been cheated out of those A's and B's . . . like a guy cheated and he gets a better grade than me and that lowers my grade . . . I like Webster because you really can't cheat and it gives you some idea of what you want and what you want to do . . ."

These "gladly learn" methods make unaccustomed demands on most Webster Upward Bound teachers. The director of Webster's Program, Sister Marie Francis Kenoyer, remarked: "We try to have half our teachers come from college and half from high school. Teachers must be willing to handle experimental units. Teachers must often be a silent presence and follow the discussion where it may lead, and not confine the discussion along the lines of a plan which the teacher might be secure in . . . teachers here have a chance to live in an ideal teaching situation. We try to have turnover so that these methods can be brought back to the teaching systems. The traditional kind of high school teaching simply has not succeeded in reaching the poverty child, and we hope to give the students the knowledge that they can do, can learn — that learning can be fun — even if it cannot always be fun."

The freedom of the Upward Bound teacher at Webster demands equal responsibility. He must be always on the alert — sensitive to the direction of a mind — able to respond to that which he did not anticipate. At times he must be a bystander — as if he were reading a magazine waiting for a haircut. In other moments he must stimulate and provoke through probing questions and sharp retort. Such an effort takes a balanced person with a sense of well-being.

Diversity of Experiences Touch Students

Bridging the gap of age and experience between teacher and student is the Program Assistant who works closely with teachers and counselors in class and dorm. At times he will team up with the teachers if he has something from his education or experience to bring to the class. To the student the Program Assistant is friend, counselor, policeman, chauffeur, nurse, teacher, and guide. He attends endless meetings with students and about students. His hours are long and yet his time is very much his own to work with the students in setting up field or camping trips, attending concerts and plays, and presenting his workshop. He may come to Webster's Upward Bound from a multi-university or a small girl's college, be a militarist or pacifist, artist or law student. You can find him closeted with students discussing such topics as drink and dope, pre-marital sex and its social impact, the quality of the cafeteria food, college, the service, religion, and anything else he may vaguely know something about. Most of the time he just listens. It might be a student who thinks that someone in the Program has it in for him, or who perhaps just needs the attention that his parents with 17 children could never give.

You might find the Program Assistant in his "What's Happening Baby" workshop working with his students on the latest peace feelers of the India-Pakistan bloc. You may wander into the Congressional Forum and find him in the middle of a Senate debate, or hear a student senator calling for the yeas and nays on a censure resolution. Students might be studying the importance of the teenage market or covering learning theory in a Program Assistant's psycholo-

gy workshop or making their own clothes in Sewing and Fashion or "doing it yourself" with interpretation, new innovations, tights, and the "works" in Modern Dance. In art, students go from 'op' to 'pop' and in Film and TV, write, produce, direct, act, and film a movie. The student-run Karate workshop offers sore muscles. Speech offers stronger lungs. Then there's a chance to see Webster and Calhoun debating the great question of the 1850's in Negro history or to find student lawyers, judges, police, jurors, trying a mythical criminal case in a St. Louis courtroom.

There was a student play, "Impromptu," a trip to Chicago, the Program yearbook *Windflowers*, the Royal Ballet, a visit by Archie Moore, Bastille Day Bike Races, disorganized camping trips, art films, a happening, and other events which had some semblance of meaning when they occurred.

This is Upward Bound at Webster College. Later, students go back to their schools — and grades are often lower. Why?

Perhaps it's as one student said: "I talked more in class when I came back from Upward Bound and the teacher noticed this but the things I said didn't go along with her ideas, and she said that I was just making a nuisance of myself when I was just trying to learn, and I became disgusted and I kind of sank back into a shell."

But the ghetto was moved: "My family in general have become proud of me . . . I have this younger brother who never thought of learning as fun . . . he never thought of it as anything . . . he just wanted to be one of the boys . . . you know . . . now he's even become proud of me . . . he wants to learn more so that some day he can do some of these things . . ."

And the streets responded: "Like we didn't talk about academic stuff in the street . . . but here at Upward Bound we would talk about philosophy — life — you could hang me up if you talked about existentialism . . . stuff like that . . . I wouldn't know very much about that . . . but being out at Webster for a while you catch on . . . you learn things . . . you can talk . . . when you're out on the street you talk about life and here at Upward Bound you can get it . . ."

The Webster Upward Bound Program has demonstrated that for Baby to learn he must hear his own sounds and think his own thoughts. One 15-year-old boy in a letter of application to Upward Bound put it best:

I would like to go to college, but I'm not getting the grades. It's not that I can't, it just seems I'm not interested.

The environment I live in just isn't right for someone trying to go to college.

I find myself disagreeing with my teachers and parents constantly which gets me into a lot of trouble. I did well in the summer program.

The work was stepped up at a faster pace and more challenging. I like this because it keeps me busy. I came across this saying by Henry David Thoreau which helps me understand myself a little better:

"If a man does not keep pace with his companions, perhaps it is because he hears a different drummer. Let him step to the music which he hears, however measured or far away."

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Rural Power Chokes Illinois Schools

J. A. WALKER

When Chicago's Mayor Daley cries for state help for his city's problems, what most rural Illinoisians hear is the voice of machine-supported political power — power on which they feel Springfield is morally obligated to lay a restraining hand. And they have a sincere belief that "country virtues" keep their own local governments essentially fair and honest.

But when it comes to running downstate public schools, those country virtues are mostly myth. The schools in cities large and small over most of Illinois are run by boards which are manipulated by the surrounding farmers so as to keep town electorates from assuming control. Cases are not unusual of

continued on next page

Rural Power Chokes Illinois Schools

"consolidated" rural-city school districts in which a 30 per cent rural population is represented by 5 rural men on a 7-man board, while the 70 per cent city population has 2 representatives.

This grip on town schools by outlying rural residents has been made possible by a downstate-oriented legislature which has carefully enacted school statutes (almost certainly unconstitutional but unchallenged to date) that keep a heavy rural dominance on local school boards. In addition to this legalized election rigging, rural interests conspire in local shenanigans ("gentlemen's agreements," town-country log rolling) that are as high-handed and successful as Daley's political power they vocally deplore.

The effects on the education of downstate children are serious: rural interests do not want to spend money for expanding school systems to keep pace with the cities' growing populations. Most crucial today are the school problems in the poorer sections of towns — usually areas grossly under-represented on school boards — which go neglected year after year. A continuing degeneration in downstate public schools is inevitable unless representative city dwellers can assert more influence on school boards. The only way for city dwellers to get their one-man-one-vote rights is to remove the political and psychological boobytraps planted in their path.

Laws Fix Rural Dominance

A few school district boundaries in Illinois are congruous with city boundaries, or nearly so. But the typical school district is larger than the city and its suburbs, taking in chunks of the farm area within a commutable radius. These school districts have boards of seven members elected by the entire district. If proportional representation were adhered to, a 15 per cent rural population would justify one rural board member, 30 per cent would justify two, and so on. A 10 per cent rural population would justify one rural member on the board about two out of three terms.

While the rural population is now over-represented on the school boards of most Illinois cities and towns, *rural under-representation is legally almost impossible*. Even towns which have become medium-size cities, with popula-

tions of 10,000 to 50,000, must put up with rural dominance.

A sampling from school statistics and maps for the latter half of 1967 shows how the tail wags the dog in some school districts: Charleston, with a population of 13,600 and a school system which takes in a rural population less than half that size, has two city residents on its school board and five rural residents (two of whose post office centers are crossroads communities of 447 and 296 respec-

"Downstate rural-urban coalitions maintain their school board power because their political machinery indoctrinates city voters"

tively). Olney (8,800), a county seat, also in a district with a rural population less than half the city's, has only two city members; the other five are rural. Normal (20,700) is another city in a district with a rural population less than half the city's and a board representation of two from the city and five from rural areas. Rantoul (12,900 "permanent" population — Chanute Air Base not included) with a high school district less than a quarter rural, has five rural school board members out of seven.

Rural over-representation, if not always so lopsided, is nevertheless pervasive. Many districts (see chart) have only between 1/7 and 1/25 rural constituencies with 2/7 or 3/7 school board membership.

Rural power over downstate city schools, though it has deep historical roots, is a relatively recent development. Fifty years ago, rural citizens were conducting genuinely representative elections of three member boards for small rural school districts. Many farmers, perhaps most, would have preferred to keep things that way, even at the cost of inferior schooling for their children. But then came the possibility of busing, and with it, consolidation of districts. And for the last 30 or 40 years (since scattered one- or two-room schools with three-member boards have been consolidating into town- or hamlet-centered schools with seven-member boards) rural Illinoisans have refused to share control proportionately with the town populations of the larger schools.

Rural reaction to consolidation was to get "protection" from Springfield through state legislation requiring *geographical* representation on school boards. The statute wording that covers two common district types is as follows:

... If the territory of such district is greater than 2 congressional townships or 72 square miles, then not more than 3 board members may be selected from any congressional township, but townships of less than 100 inhabitants shall not be considered for the purpose of such mandatory board representation, and in any such community unit school district created after June 30, 1953 where 75% or more of the population is in one township 4 board members shall be selected therefrom and 3 board members shall be selected from the rest of the district. . . .

The effect of this statute on most Illinois cities is that city dwellers need 3/4 of their district's population before they can have a majority on the school board. A city of 7,400 in a district of 10,000 is permitted only 3 members

Districts*	Population	Rural Board Membership
Carbondale	20,500	2 out of 7
Champaign	53,300	3 out of 7
Charleston	13,600	5 out of 7
DeKalb	23,100	2 out of 7
Dixon	19,600	2 out of 7
Galesburg	37,200	2 out of 7
Jacksonville	21,700	2 out of 7
Normal	20,700	5 out of 7
Olney	8,800	5 out of 7
Rantoul	12,900	5 out of 7
*All districts have only between 1/7 and 1/25 rural residents.		

on a 7-member board. And a city of 9,500 in the same size district is permitted only 4 members on a 7-member board.

... [If the district has] not more than 2 congressional townships but more than 1, or 36 square miles, outside of the corporate limits of any city, village or incorporated town within the school district, [then] not more than 5 board members shall be selected from any city, village or incorporated town in such school district. ... (Illinois Statutes, Rev. 1965: 122 (11-8) School Code — Holding of election.)

This means that in smaller districts, even a 2 per cent farm population must have at least 2/7 (29 per cent) board membership.

Note that this legislation is not permissive. School districts are prohibited by law from reducing (though not from increasing) rural school board representation in accordance with population. Rural weighting of school boards is required. School districts are required to ignore population, while segments of land — and only land — can be represented.

Champaign — A Classic Case

In addition to the statutory protection they get from Springfield, rural interests have been adept at developing local devices for maintaining their power on the district school board. How these operate can be observed in a rather typical east central Illinois school district, Champaign's Community Unit District 4.

Until 1948, three crossroads school districts, each with a three-member board, lay within an eight-mile radius of Champaign. Their combined population in 1948 was between 1,000 and 2,000, spread over pieces of five townships; Champaign's population was about 43,000. After some dickering, the three country districts joined the Champaign school system to form one "community unit" district with a seven-member board — under what was locally known and labeled as a "gentlemen's agreement." The agreement was that city board members would see to it that at least two rural members would always have places on the board.

By pressing their inherited "moral obligation" to the gentlemen's agreement upon all comers for the ensuing decade, the Champaign board dissuaded any city residents who might disturb the tranquility from seriously competing against the two rural candidates. Meanwhile postwar Champaign boomed, with industrial and University of Illinois employees filling up new residential areas. The growing University alone added thousands of permanent residents to the city. (Faculty, however, even twenty-year taxpayers, are often called "transients" by native townspeople.)

During the early 1950's most of the new residents, the "city outsiders," wanted an enlarged, modern school system — and were largely ignored by the board. In 1958, however, a group of the "city outsiders" rose up, took the rural-city coalition by surprise, and elected a sixth city resident to the school board. This was geographically possible because the city originally happened to be settled on a township boundary line, making six city board members — three from each township within the city — eligible in spite of the tricky state statute.

But such a step toward proportional representation, the school power structure could not tolerate for long. In 1960, a vacancy occurred in a position held by a city resident. Exercising its appointive power, the board publicly asked for name suggestions for the eight-month replacement with the following two stipulations: (1) the suggested person should be a rural resident; (2) he should be someone with a good chance of being elected to that seat the following

April "so his eight months on the board will not be a wasted learning period."

"City outsiders" asked the board to reconsider the stipulations because, they said, the school board, as a non-partisan, "non-political" body should not put a rural man in an elected city man's place; should not appoint a prospective candidate, much less make candidacy a condition for appointment; should no longer adhere to the 1948 "gentlemen's agreement" (The original reason cited for it — a larger proportionate tax contribution from the rural area — had disappeared.); and should consider under-represented minorities (Negro, Catholic, etc.), since the 5 per cent rural minority was already over-represented.

The board was deaf. It soon found the rural candidate-member it had prescribed and appointed him. He is still on the board. In spite of an increasing city population, the Champaign board has a new high of three rural members.

"City outsiders" continue to be frustrated by the loaded dice of the statute and local inventiveness.

School Politics Reflect Strength of Conservative Coalition

The Unit 4 story raises a number of interesting questions. In the first place, how do such gentlemen's agreements come about when it would appear that consolidation offers a town board obvious headaches and no advantages?

The answer is, first, in the long-standing pressure on school districts to consolidate and the offers of "help" from the state education office. Second, there is generally an influential town group — the older, traditional conservatives — who welcome rural people as their natural allies. When a town school system takes in outlying districts, the result is an almost instinctive coalition of the entire rural electorate and the most conservative wing of the town establishment. And with statutory guarantee of at least two rural men on most school boards, a city's Old Guard need have only two town conservatives on the board, instead of four, to maintain majority control.

Unlike highly organized big city politics, typical downstate school control machinery is based on an informal marriage of these two groups, with the operations more understood than discussed. Viewpoints of the two groups automatically converge on matters of policy and particularly on holding down taxes. As important school issues come up, the town group often becomes an intermediary between the rural conservatives on one side and the less conservative town leaders on the other.

The Champaign board in 1961 showed the precision with which the coalition can operate. For some years various city groups had unsuccessfully petitioned the board to add kindergartens. Strong rural objection dominated board decisions in repeated, *unanimous* vetoes. Two weeks before the school election in 1961, it became obvious that the city's overwhelming desire for kindergartens endangered the re-election of a city coalition incumbent, running for his fifth term against a "city outsider." At a special meeting — called on an illegal one-day notice by telephone summons — the board *unanimously* voted kindergarten adoption. By yielding on the issue in the nick of time, the coalition kept its board control intact. The incumbent was re-elected by a slim 40 votes.

Downstate rural-urban coalitions also maintain their school board power because their political machinery indoctrinates city voters year in and year out with their point of view. In Chicago and St. Louis, relatively few people "identify" with farmers. But in downstate cities, where surrounding farms and farmers are a daily visible reality, many people "feel for the farmer." Some of these city dwellers —

or their parents — grew up on a nearby farm and know it as a family or ancestral home. Some city families depend upon farm customers and clients for their livelihood. And nearly all of them can feel the city's lingering function as a farm trading center.

But the central role the farmer once played in downstate communities lives on in the minds of both rural and downstate city folk out of all proportion with current reality. Rural lore permeates town life in the local press, in civic landmarks and celebrations, in local radio shows, in remarks by the TV weather man. And town leaders often exploit this cultural lag. The rural identification of many downstate city dwellers does make them susceptible to emotional appeals in their political decisions that may be contrary to their interests.

Given this setting, it is not hard to see that as a citizen grows up in a downstate Illinois city he is easily persuaded to think of swollen rural membership on a school board as a rural "right" — legalized by statute, ingrained by practice, and become "ethical" by "traditional principle."

Thus at school board meetings, rural problems get important consideration which, duly reflected in the local press, itself conveys exaggerated rural importance. It is natural that a "bad situation of two grades in one room" (totaling perhaps 15 pupils) in a rural board member's home area is fully aired. At the same time, it is equally natural that the "unrepresented" problem of a crowded ghetto school (where, in a "standard" one-grade room, there may be 30 pupils, 10 of them one year behind their grade, 5 of them 2 years behind, 2 of them 3 years behind) remains ignored. The condition smolders for years, in grade after grade, known to neither board nor public. One day both are shocked — naturally — by a local headline: "Noon Riot in High School Cafeteria; Started by Three October Dropouts."

Students Handicapped by Minority Control

It is scarcely fair to place the blame for school riots on rural school board members. Yet, the domination of the rural viewpoint on schools contributes to such troubles when in both management and education, interests of a smaller school group are favored above those of a larger. There are other examples: for instance, the use of school buses. Illinois law for years has said that children living 1½ miles from their school are entitled to buses (with "per pupil reimbursement" from state funds). But local interpre-

"Typical downstate school control machinery is based on an informal marriage of . . . the most conservative wing and the rural electorate . . ."

tations by urban-rural coalitions usually provide buses only for rural pupils who qualify, not for equally eligible city — often ghetto — pupils. These must pay for city-bus transportation to school or walk. The result is a higher dropout rate.

Or, in the education program itself, a school system may have very expensive, space-consuming vocational-agriculture laboratories for a handful of pupils. One school board had such a lab with equipment worth thousands of dollars, then for years had to recruit farm youths from outside its dis-

trict to bring class enrollment up to the legally required eight pupils. Even more to the point, that equipment occupied space sorely needed in a crowded school for more generally usable science laboratories. Saturday or after-school laboratory periods were supposed to be the answer — but they were not a good answer for the ambitious ghetto pupil who had to work then.

The rural point of view has stood in the way of general school development. In the 1930's it was understandable that a soilpoor farmer, to whom his own reading and ciphering seemed adequate, should assess as wasteful the price of "frills" which he saw coming with consolidation. But though the economy has changed, the farmer's view of education too often has not. His feeling can be gauged from rural precinct voting records, opposing virtually every Illinois school bond issue and tax referendum of the last twenty years.

Hostility to federal government programs, so much stronger in the typical farmer than in the city dweller (and surely a little ironic considering the long history of federal farm price supports), has further damaging effect on schools; it deprives the city school pupil of what he needs, has a right to, and often would get from a truly proportionate school board representation. A short while ago this writer heard a school board president in a northern Illinois city explain his "No" vote against application for a federal grant to help build a new city school purely on the grounds that he was against such aid "in principle."

It is not that the rural man is unenlightened. He is as enlightened as the city man, or anyone else — when it touches his interest. The key objection to a predominantly rural board membership in a predominantly city district is not that it is unenlightened — but that it is unrepresentative.

No matter what the rural point of view or its effects, it deserves expression. But other significant minorities, particularly larger ones, also deserve as much or more expression on school boards, which — non-partisan and composed of seven members with three-year staggered terms — could be far more democratically constituted than they presently are. *In many, perhaps most, medium-size Illinois cities today, the Negro minority in school districts is several times the size of the rural — and is usually without representation at all. Catholics are also frequently under-represented, particularly in the many cities where most Catholic children attend parochial elementary schools and all Catholic children go to public high schools. Labor, with some exceptions, is another group often under-represented on Illinois school boards.* Obviously there is nothing to stop these and other groups from organizing to elect a candidate to represent them — nothing, that is, except law and custom.

As John Dever, former city manager of Decatur, said last year, "Urban-rural conflict is senseless and is carried on at great cost to all concerned." Ideally, all school board members represent the interests of the entire district. Today, all politically astute candidates claim to espouse that viewpoint, but few do in practice. In Illinois, the result has been, to paraphrase John Stuart Mill, "the tyranny of the minority." Illinois' statutes and traditions being what they are, those citizens who want a change will face an uphill battle.

J. A. Walker has lived in several Illinois towns in a school-connected capacity, and is now taking further work at a downstate college. He grew up in a "school board family" in an Illinois small town.

Administrators Beware: Teachers on the Loose

MURRAY A. SMITH

Up to now, the Missouri legislature has failed to pass the two bills which both the National Education Association (NEA) and the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) consider the most urgent: tenure and professional negotiations for teachers. Missouri remains one of the few states without job-security for teachers.

This legislative gap indicates the extent of Missouri's concern for education and educators in general. Missourians spend a smaller per cent of their income per pupil than any but four other states. It ranks forty-second and spends almost eleven per cent less per pupil than the national average. Necessarily, teacher salaries are lower (by 9 1/5 per cent) and classes are larger (by 5 per cent) than the average. This may explain the exodus of 40 per cent of the qualified teacher-trainees graduating from Missouri colleges and universities (at considerable taxpayer expense). Schools, as a result, had to issue many temporary certificates for substandard teachers in recent years.

Yet, low salaries and poor teaching conditions are not the major complaints. Teachers tend to agree with Peter Janssen, education editor of *Newsweek* who wrote in the *Saturday Review*

...it has become apparent that many of the problems of education rest at least as much within the Establishment — in rigid administrative routines, for example — as they do in public apathy. In many instances teachers feel they need defense against administrators as much as they do against unsympathetic school boards and legislators to some extent the NEA has begun to confront these matters, but it still approaches them with assumptions and attitudes of another age.

The cautious talk about "strikes in extreme cases" at the NEA convention in Minneapolis two summers ago may have bothered the conservative press, but it was hardly a clarion call to action for discouraged Missouri teachers. "Just more talk to keep us from thinking Union," many grumbled. (Actually, more than half of the teacher strikes during the first half of the 1967-68 school year were by NEA teachers.)

With the exception of the St. Louis City union (AFT), Missouri teacher organizations have followed the old guard in the NEA. The Missouri State Teachers Organization (MSTA) is dominated by administrators and (according to Eliot, Master, and Salisbury's *State Politics and the Public Schools*, 1966) influences legislators primarily through contacts by superintendents and school board members. It is unlikely that such an organization will push very hard for legislation that teachers want but that is not approved by administrators and boards. Indeed, says Chancellor Thomas Eliot *et al*

it seems fair to say that a major reason Missouri has no teacher tenure or minimum salary laws is that MSTTA has not wished to alienate its school board supporters in behalf of its classroom teacher constituency. Unity strengthens MSTTA's bargaining position, but also imposes limits on its objectives.

"Unity" is the watchword of the administrators and the conservatives. "We are all educators, with the same objec-

tives and problems — teachers, administrators, and board members."

"Unity in diversity," answers the reformer.

Fight Administration Control

Administration control over local groups is fought by NEA teachers in many ways: In Passaic, New Jersey, superintendents are excluded from membership in the local community teachers' association. In DeKalb, Illinois, all administrators are excluded. In Indian Head, Maryland, the superintendent is excluded because the principals were too subservient in his presence. In Livonia, Michigan, principals are allowed to attend area meetings but not building meetings. In Columbus, Ohio, the classroom teachers in the local community teachers association (cta) discuss ideas first before presenting them to a full session attended also by administrators. In St. Louis County, at least one cta had administrators as members; but, by mutual consent, they do not attend meetings.

Not everyone agrees that the NEA is dominated by administrators. On the final night of the 1966 NEA convention, at which many administrators were present, President Bachtelder asked all of the classroom teachers to stand. "Do you think you are administrator-dominated in this assembly?" he cried. The teachers, according to the *NEA Reporter* responded with a loud "No!" Unfortunately, the influence of administrators is only too apparent in too many instances, such as the following:

- A highly educated, well-traveled language teacher in an out-state Missouri district comments in an article for a modern-language journal that money priorities in many districts, including her own, are channeled into physical education rather than the humanities. Shortly thereafter, her class is evaluated by a *physical education major* and she is rated "uncooperative" and "let go."
- A five-year teacher finds it necessary to fail the son of a board member. After resisting administrative pressure to change his decision, he is fired.
- A president of a community teachers' association convinces his group to turn down two separate salary offers by the school board. Finally, the board meets the teachers' salary demands — but when the raise goes into effect the following year the president is no longer an employee of the district.
- A young Negro teacher in an out-state district is asked to "resign." The administration refuses to give him a reason, but his contract is not renewed. This is a common practice. Incompetent or inconvenient teachers are asked to resign voluntarily or be fired without a recommendation. (If a teacher is actually incompetent and chooses to resign with a recommendation, one wonders how such a document can be both helpful and honest.)
- A Jefferson County teacher testifies before a Missouri legislative committee in favor of the proposed tenure legislation. When he returns from Jefferson City, he discovers that he has been fired for his participation in "civics." He is told that he is a good teacher but too "radical." After the local and the Missouri State Teachers Organization failed to provide proper hearings, the NEA opened an investigation

ABBREVIATIONS USED

AASA	... American Association of School Administrators
ACT	... Association of Classroom Teachers (NEA-affiliated)
AFT	... American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO
CSD	... Cooperative School District
cta	... local community teacher association
DCT	Department of Classroom Teachers (succeeded by ACT)
MSTA	... Missouri State Teachers Association
NEA	... National Education Association
SLSTA	... St. Louis Suburban Teachers Association
TIP	... Teachers in Politics (SLSTA-affiliated)

in this as well as another case of five teachers from Cuba, Missouri, with a similar experience. Recently published findings of a joint NEA-MSTA investigation report a deplorable lack of concern for personal rights and for proper procedure in the Cuba case, where also a principal was fired who gave an unfavorable evaluation of one of his teachers — the superintendent's wife.

● Richard B. Kennan, executive secretary for NEA's Professional Rights and Responsibilities Commission, has pointed out that in recent years the number of such complaints from Missouri has been greater than in all the states with tenure combined.

The Big Two: NEA and AFT

The NEA is the oldest and largest teachers' organization in the nation, representing some 52 per cent of all teachers and administrators, about the same as ten years ago. The NEA, says Peter Janssen in the article quoted earlier:

is still oriented to white teachers in small city and rural school systems, and to school administrators rather than to school teachers (a distinction not lost on the AFT, which emphasises that it is a teachers' organization). It is run by non-urban school administrators; twenty-five of the eighty-two members of the NEA's board of directors are elementary and secondary school teachers (eighteen are principals and eleven are superintendents and assistant superintendents), and only six of the eighty-two are Negroes. The four-member board of trustees, which elects the NEA's powerful executive secretary, consists of exactly one teacher, two superintendents, and an assistant professor of education.

Some efforts are underway to make the organization more representative and more effective. While its current president is a Negro teacher, Janssen's description still applies to the body of the NEA.

The AFT (American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO) was formed in 1916 with John Dewey as its first member. Its membership is usually restricted to non-administrative personnel. Originally, AFT members were planning to remain members of the NEA while being active as an association of classroom teachers. The militancy of the new organization, so greatly diverging from the established NEA philosophy, made any real cooperation impossible. Fearful of AFT, superintendents began to make NEA membership a condition of employment — one of the major reasons for its phenomenal growth. The AFT's greatest boost in membership came in 1960, when New York City teachers, having gained collective bargaining rights, held a secret ballot to determine which organization was to represent them in dealing with the board of education. Although the AFT local had only 5,000 members, it received 20,000 votes. Now, it has over 47,000 members. Wherever secret votes

were held to determine bargaining representatives, about 3½ times as many have voted for the AFT than the NEA.

The AFT differs from the NEA in three major respects: it includes no administrators, it is affiliated with the AFL-CIO, and it favors, if necessary, strikes. Although the NEA teachers have struck about as often in recent years as the unionized teachers, officially the NEA advocates "sanctions" or blacklisting of recalcitrant employers, saving the strike for extreme cases. The AFT position is that sanctions are not only slow in their effectiveness but often do more harm than good. It is better, they say, for the children to lose a few days of school which might be made up later, than to damage a school district for a long period.

State and Community Organizations

Loosely affiliated with the NEA are state, regional and local organizations, usually including teachers and administrators. Most St. Louis and St. Charles County teachers are members of the NEA, the Missouri State Teachers Association (MSTA), the St. Louis Suburban Teachers Association (SLSTA), and local community teachers' associations (cta). Most St. Louis AFT members also belong to the MSTTA. The rather nominal dues in each are widely considered an indication of nominal interest and nominal effectiveness. MSTTA is well described in *State Politics and Public Schools*:

... unity within the schoolmen constituency is of special importance. MSTTA relies heavily on school administrators, schoolboard members, and county superintendents as contacts in communicating constituency sentiments to individual legislators. In order to maintain these contacts in good order, MSTTA must and does avoid exerting itself on some recommendations

Typically, MSTTA did nothing to support the Mehlville teachers when they invoked sanctions on their board and superintendent, although the teachers had the full support of the NEA and the Suburban organization.

The all-inclusive MSTTA has published an impressive-looking list of individuals whom it has defended; but these cases are, almost without exception, teacher-versus-the-people affairs, such as class-discipline cases or income tax deductions for educational expenses. Very seldom does the state organization espouse the cause of a teacher against his own superintendent or school board — it does so only, it seems, when the NEA has been called in, too.

The St. Louis Suburban Teachers Association (SLSTA) is definitely more teacher-oriented than the state organization. SLSTA is active in legislative matters through its "Teachers in Politics" (TIP), and it provided aid to the teachers of the Kinloch district in their negotiations with the Kinloch board. But since it also represents principals and superintendents, it is inhibited whenever controversies between teachers and administrators arise.

In the eyes of SLSTA members, the Co-operating School Districts, composed of area superintendents and school board members — well supplied with taxpayers' money — are the most reactionary. (The co-operating superintendents also have an organization of their own.) Teachers ascribe the defeat of tenure and collective negotiation bills in last year's Missouri General Assembly to the Co-operating School District. Moves are underway to exclude superintendents from the SLSTA, since they have consistently opposed positions adopted by the SLSTA.

The local community teacher association (cta) varies widely in effectiveness, but Missouri's brand are accurately described by T. M. Stinnet, an NEA official:

Locals are by and large pursuing business at the same old stand — routine, perfunctory, and pedestrian — as pleasant

social and housekeeping organizations that are grossly ineffective and largely meaningless. By and large they are pleasant and innocuous organizations without dynamism and a program of activism. They are amorphous in character — a conglomeration of membership — all-inclusive, classroom teachers, administrators, supervisors, and specialized. Both in function and membership these must be overhauled. Above all, there must be an uninhibited classroom teachers organization, either as a department or a separate wholly independent entity.

Locals suffer perhaps more, says Myron Lieberman, co-author of *Collective Negotiations for Teachers: A New Approach to Administration*, from the "leadership" of teachers who aspire to administration than from despotic administrators and school boards.

After the AFT failed in its attempt to influence the NEA from within, a separate voice was given to the classroom teacher, at first called the Department of Classroom Teachers and later renamed the Association of Classroom Teachers (ACT). This group has been convening just before the annual sessions of the NEA in the hope of coordinating the plans of classroom teachers, particularly in reforming the cumbersome structure and overlapping functions of units within the NEA.

All teachers who belong to NEA also are members of NEA-ACT. Missouri's MSTA also has an ACT group, which includes all but administrators.

"Blackboard Power"

After the Missouri-ACT 1967 meeting in Columbia — a debacle in everyone's opinion — both camps, the reformers and conservatives, began girding for the 1968 battle. On March 23rd of this year unprecedented numbers overflowed the Memorial Union auditorium at Missouri University. Although an anti-establishment slate of officers, largely from St. Louis County, was defeated by a fairly close margin, the substance of the resolutions advanced, whether passed or "tabled," revealed that the annual "tea and crumpets" sessions had undergone a real change. Among the progressive resolutions passed were:

The Association demands that certificates permitting teaching in Missouri be issued only to those persons who have been professionally trained in an institution fully accredited for teacher education.

The Association urges MSTA to seek more vigorously legislation to provide a "Professional Practices Act" which would establish:

A. A Professional Standards Board empowered to establish standards for teacher education, certification, and assignment, and

B. A Professional Practices Commission empowered to regulate standards of ethical behavior and competence of performance, and to revoke teaching certificates for cause.

Such boards should be composed of representatives of the teaching profession, with the majority being classroom teachers.

The Association regrets that the original intent of the Foundation Program, which is to improve the educational program, is still being misinterpreted by some local districts. Therefore, the Association urges that there be increased effort to improve local financial support. (This resolution referred to the \$10 million dollar increase in the state foundation school program passed by the Special Session of the Missouri Legislature with the provision that

at least 80 per cent of the amount allocated to each district be used to increase teachers' salaries. Some districts used these funds to meet earlier promises. For example, the Hazelwood School District in St. Louis County had assured its teachers a \$400 bonus if the bill should pass — provided that the teachers did not demand too large an increase the following year. Later, however, the District added only \$100 to the following year's schedule and cancelled the promised bonus. The Kirkwood District manipulated the 80 per cent of its share to reduce its proposed tax rate by eight cents.)

The Association vigorously opposes merit rating for determining salaries. It maintains that experience shows that the evaluation of individuals for merit rating destroys professional morale; creates strife and discord; impedes the cooperative improvement of education by classroom teachers, supervisors, and administrators; and leads to deterioration in the quality of education of children.

Other resolutions and amendments offered from the floor provided additional fireworks: A committee was authorized to study the structure of local organizations and make recommendations in the light of a National ACT study recommending separate but cooperating teacher and administrator components. A move was initiated to have the district directors elected by and in their own districts instead of by the whole state convention. (The directors compose the majority of the executive board, which appoints the nominating committee. At present, therefore,

"The day has long passed when the average public school teacher was timid, poorly educated, and convinced by society that his or her major reward in life was to be called 'dedicated.'"

the board is self-perpetuating.) A resolution supporting the Florida teachers in their battle was passed 164-117. A resolution calling for an impartial third-party evaluation of MSTA was tabled as soon as it was seconded, so that the charges against MSTA mentioned earlier in this article, could not be aired. Normally, a tabling motion to suppress debate requires a two-third majority. In this instance, the chairman ruled in favor of a simple majority vote — against the advice of the parliamentarian.

The ACT Movement

Militant teachers are more effective in Florida and Oklahoma. This can be largely attributed to the dominance of the Association of Classroom Teachers which excludes administrators. Curiously, there is less teacher-administrator friction in these states than in Missouri with its all-inclusive cta's. When some Florida school boards refused to take back some administrators who had left their jobs with the striking teachers, the teacher associations refused to return until the principals were also reinstated. In Oklahoma, it was a militant ACT that finally moved the Oklahoma State Teachers Association to take effective action against a recalcitrant state government.

Missouri cta's also have their departments of classroom teachers — which are typically confined to making recommendations for American Education Week observances. Openly or by tacit agreement, a few cta's will limit active membership to non-administrators. Except for the City of St. Louis, teacher-led organizations have been a rarity in Missouri.

In St. Louis, besides a large and quite active AFT minority, the NEA-affiliated Association of Classroom Teachers is also closed to administrators. Two decades ago, when the outstanding Dr. Herbert Schooling was superintendent of Webster Groves, a suburb of St. Louis, teachers there also formed an ACT. In time, the Webster cta was reduced to a ceremonial function without any effect on educational policy.

In 1963, a group of Kirkwood teachers, upset by discouraging encounters with their board and administration, followed Webster Groves' example, and organized close to half of the teaching personnel of the district. Since then the Kirkwood ACT has taken the lead in obtaining a grievance procedure, tenure, and a professional negotiations agreement in spite of strong opposition from some administrators and teachers loyal to the concept of "professional unity." Currently, the Kirkwood ACT includes more than two-thirds of the classroom teachers and counselors. A merger between Kirkwood's ACT and cta on the teacher-level is being explored. Meanwhile, Kirkwood principals have formed their own association.

Equally significant for changes in local as well as national organizational structures is this statement from an NEA-ACT summary of the year's activities:

The Joint Commission of the Association of Classroom Teachers and the American Association of School Administrators . . . pointed up the importance of a local association structure that permits classroom teachers and school administrators to study their problems independently and yet work together on professional negotiations and other matters of mutual concern.

The significance of ACT in teacher-administrator relations, in general, and the developing role of teacher power, in particular, are brought out clearly in the following incident.

ACT's executive council met with one superintendent about the case of a teacher who had been told by her principal to resign or be fired without a letter of reference. The superintendent refused to relieve the situation by transferring the accused teacher to another school because "principals tend to stick together." He also revealed that he had never questioned a principal's recommendation that a teacher be fired and that his board had never questioned his ruling on such a recommendation.

In other words, the teachers in the district had been totally at the mercy of their principal's judgments – and prejudices. It is this kind of absolute power, the teachers now say, which created the demand for an effective classroom teachers' organization.

When teachers questioned the principal's and board's decision, their concern was met with amazement and consternation. The principal's response before the Board and the ACT committee was typical, "I am qualified, and this is my decision!" Despotism, says the reformer, even benevolent despotism, must give way to a joint and more conciliatory decision-making process. The American Association of School Administrators (AASA) agrees: "We believe that, no matter how benevolent arbitrary decisions might be, they have a debilitating effect."

The day has long passed, say the teachers, when the average public school teacher was timid, poorly educated, and convinced by society that his or her major reward in life was to be called "dedicated." Teachers are not drop-outs from the "more important world" of business. Indeed, they have learned to use the most effective tools of business and labor in obtaining their goals. The suppression of teach-

er rights has moved the more competent and the more aggressive teachers to intensify their efforts to liberalize rules and regulations. Administrators will have to accommodate such demands or face a prolonged period of strife.

Next to a good tenure law, Missouri teachers see "professional negotiations" as the most important factor in raising their status. It is also ACT's major plank. Missouri Attorney General Norman Anderson has made a clear distinction between illegal "collective bargaining" (with agreements that are legally binding under labor law) and "professional negotiations" (with agreements that are only advisory to the school board, which retains the final authority). Lawyers representing many school boards admit to the legal distinction but insist that the practical results would be as binding as under a collective bargaining agreement. They also object to the probable pressure of public opinion as the result of an advisory opinion.

The professional negotiations issue has also been endorsed by the new Suburban ACT, formed in 1966. The suburban group is affiliated with but autonomous from the all-inclusive St. Louis Suburban Teachers Association. It testified for tenure legislation during legislative hearings in Jefferson City and has written and promoted a professional negotiations bill. The Suburban ACT, which also hopes to form many more local ACT's, has met with cooperation from the leadership of the St. Louis Suburban Teachers Association, a most promising development in St. Louis County.

The Alternatives

Teaching is unique. It has similarities to the fee-taking professions in its demands for training, dedication, and ethics; to unionized labor, in its need for collective action; and to the civil service, in its dependence on taxes and bureaucracy. No simple analogy is possible. Unity among teacher organizations is essential to realize its demands and hopes. The split between AFT and NEA is a professional scandal and impedes educational growth. While national officers of both organizations have made noises toward unification, there has been no great show of eagerness. If the merger comes, it will probably be between the AFT and the ACT – in other words, at the classroom-teacher level. Many within the Suburban ACT hope to cooperate not only with the SLSTA, for example, but also with the AFT and the ACT in St. Louis.

If the ACT movement fails – and many on the far right and the far left predict that it cannot succeed – the NEA organization is doomed. In St. Louis County it will begin to lose to the Union. If ACT succeeds, the Union may never gain a foothold in St. Louis County. For teachers in St. Louis County, particularly the women, are strongly anti-union. Unlike men teachers who come from blue-collar families, a great many women teachers come from middle-class, white-collar families who fear unionism and see an inherent conflict between their professional status and any alliance with organized labor.

Reform measures, such as collective negotiations, might make administration more difficult for the administrator in the short run, but it will also make for a better and more efficient administration. In consequence, claim the teachers, the ultimate consumer, the pupil, will profit.

One thing is certain, whether administrators like it or not, teacher militancy is here and will grow.

Murray A. Smith is a teacher at the Kirkwood (Missouri) High School and has been active in teacher organizations for many years.

EDITORIALS (continued from page 5)

magazine salesmen, four of whom died later. Upon the request of the "Warlords," the Illinois Governor's Office of Human Resources dispatched two staff members to request that bail be set. When the St. Clair County state's attorney offered a lie detector test instead, Jeffries accepted. The test convinced the state's attorney that Jeffries must be innocent. (We must also compliment Illinois Governor Richard B. Ogilvie who phoned Jeffries to make certain that he was getting out of jail. We cannot recall one such sign, no matter how meager the symbol, of personal involvement from the Missouri Governor.)

Renewal Magazine, published in Chicago, revealed late last year another story where the press and authorities combined to discredit citizens who had begun to take a hand in community action.

"... The Chicago press and police department have combined their forces to engage in some free-wheeling character assassination attempts designed to thwart support for ghetto rehabilitation Community Renewal Society is to make available \$100,000 to Kenwood-Oakland Community Organization (KOCO) for this year's program. In keeping with CRS's insistent policy of community self-determination, staff hiring is done by KOCO.

"So in early October, two leaders of the famed Blackstone Rangers, Jeff Fort and Charles Edward Bey, were hired as community youth coordinators. Headlines in Chicago's *American*, Nov. 8: GANG CHIEF GETS \$9,000 JOB. The heading of the article told the rest of the story: PAL ALSO IS PAID \$8,000 SALARY BY PRIVATE GROUP. The Chicago *Sun-Times*, on the same day, ran an article quoting Capt. Edward L. Buckney, commander of the Chicago Police Department's Gang Intelligence Unit, as saying that his records show cases where community organizations have hired street gang leaders and "paid them for doing nothing." Buckney was quite critical of such practices.

"Not to be outdone, the Chicago *Tribune* announced on Nov. 13: KENWOOD LEADER IS EX-CONVICT. The article called attention to past arrests and prison terms served by Rev. Burrell for narcotics and burglary charges. And as an added attraction the *Tribune* cited CRS executive director Donald Benedict's past record in a federal penitentiary for refusing to register for the draft during World War II.

"The Chicago press is well-schooled in the fine art of discrediting community leaders in the ghetto. The *American* ran an article a couple of years ago citing past narcotics arrests of Chester Robinson, executive director of the West Side Organization, a program of CRS. The article also implied Robinson had Communist leanings.

"*Renewal* would only offer the comforting word that CRS has a better record at rehabilitation of criminals than most prisons in this country. Take Don Benedict for example. He bounced back from the federal penitentiary to revolutionize the church, founding the East Harlem Protestant Parish and coming to CRS by way of Cleveland's Inner City Protestant Parish.

"So when he got to Chicago, he got ahold of a fellow ex-con, Chester Robinson, to head up an organization which has whittled down the ghetto unemployment rate, publishes one of the finest examples of a community newspaper to be found anywhere in the country and is making black economy more than a campaign promise. WSO currently operates a service station, under a Shell franchise, and has larger plans for a whole black business block. . . ."

Kansas City, East St. Louis, or Chicago, or whatever the locality, the police, the courts, the whole system of law enforcement will collapse unless citizens offer voluntary cooperation. Laws cannot be enforced. The legitimacy of laws is established by acceptance not by the end of a billy club. And voluntary cooperation will not be offered if the enforcers of such law are suspect.

New UAW-Teamster Alliance Poses Progressive Challenge to AFL-CIO

Most unions and their leadership are dull. They have little concern for the community at large, except for issues related to their own direct interests. While it may signify their economic arrival and, indeed, may represent a success story, the labor movement is part of the conservative, fearful mood which ties America to the antiquated if not useless. There are few pioneers left in today's labor movement.

If it were not for two dissenters, the Teamsters and the UAW, the political prognosis of labor would give little cheer. While the two dissenters are well off, their leadership oppose the gradualism and complacency of a George Meany. They acknowledge that labor must deal with the social inequalities which wreck our country.

After Walter Reuther's break with the AFL-CIO last year, the UAW and the Teamsters formed the Alliance for Labor Action (ALA). They have met repeatedly and plan a national conference in late spring. While one joint committee is working on bringing collective bargaining to holding companies, enterprises with hidden ownerships, conglomerates, and how to organize minorities and agricultural workers; a second committee is developing a program of social action in community organization, housing, health, hunger, and similar issues. Most important, these working groups have been assured a sizable commitment of money from both unions.

Invitations have also gone out to other unions to join these efforts. While the new alliance is not a direct threat to the AFL-CIO — unions can belong to both organizations at the same time — the new thrust of ALA poses a welcome challenge.

It's a Confounding World Says Kupcinet

Irving Kupcinet, a *Chicago Sun-Times* columnist, liked Mayor Daley's reply to TV commentator Cronkite's question: "Why didn't you pass up the convention, knowing the possible trouble that could ensue in Chicago?" "We don't avoid responsibility in Chicago," replied the Mayor. (That's the only instance, as far as we know, that Daley boldly accepted responsibility for the violence.)

However, Kupcinet didn't care for statements by Jay Miller of the Illinois American Civil Liberties Union. The ACLU, a most effective organization which not only has stoutly and most effectively defended the civil liberties of minorities and individuals in Chicago but would even come to the aid of a Mayor Daley if need be, confounds the columnist. Quote: "Jay Miller . . . acting like a person who wants to be all things to all people. First, the ACLU cried out for punishment of those policemen who 'overreacted' (Kupcinet's quotation marks) during the Democratic convention. Now Miller is offering the ACLU's legal services to the policemen suspended for their actions during the convention. The officers certainly are entitled to legal services, but Miller's ambivalence is confusing . . ."

The issue is less mystifying if one realizes that possibly neither the demonstrators nor the police are the ultimate guilty parties who ought to be brought to trial.

We don't want to mention any names, it might offend Mr. Kupcinet's favorite linguist.

MISSOURI SCHOOL DISTRICT REORGANIZATION

Is the reorganization of Missouri school districts dead?

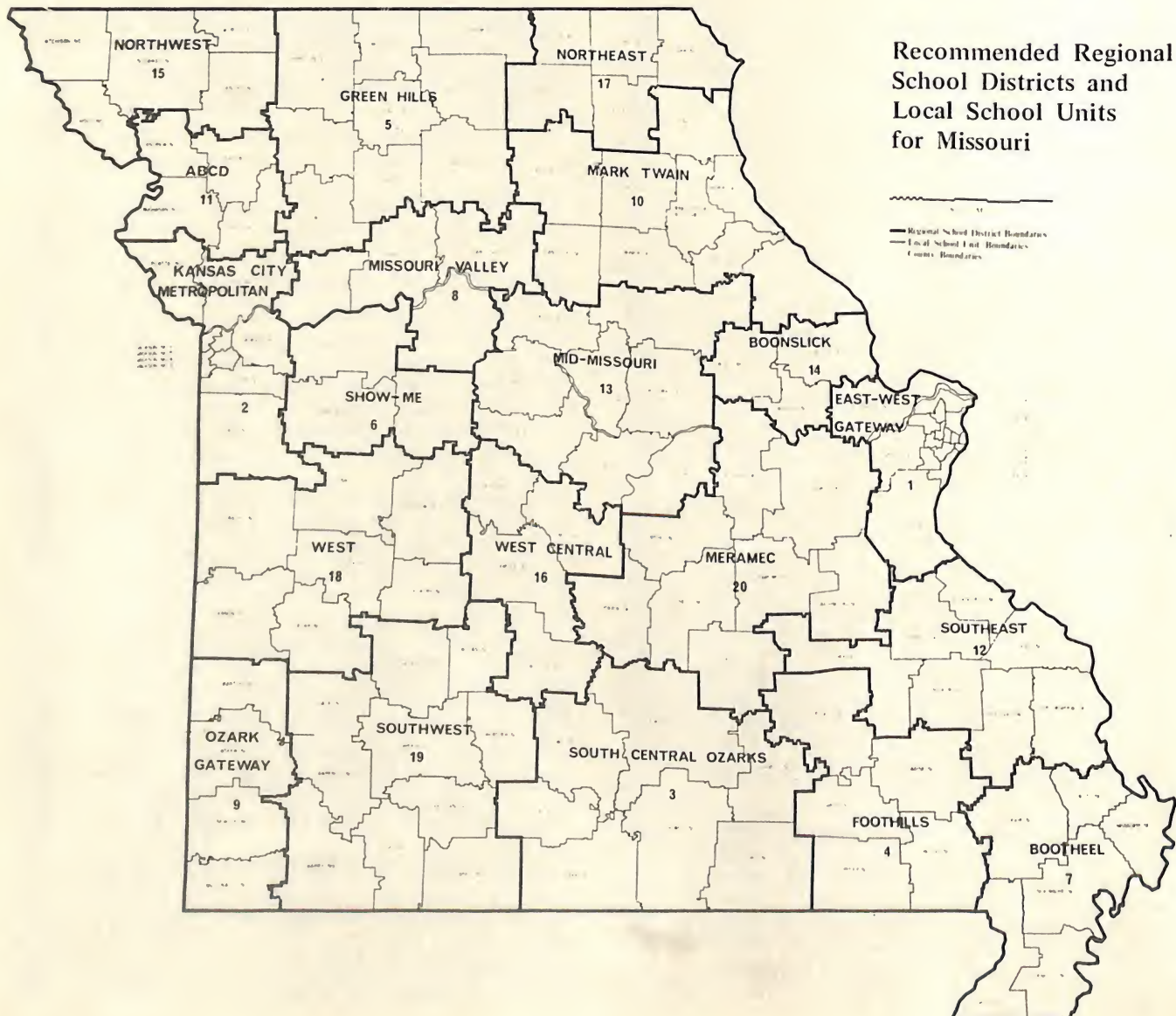
Of course not. The withdrawal of the bill in the current Missouri legislature by its author, Rep. James I. Spainhower, and the substitution of a much weaker version which was also killed in committee, is an admission of the backwardness of the Missouri legislature and an indictment of the liberal elements in Missouri who failed to come out in strong support. But many legislative measures, particularly those of a progressive bend, had to be introduced again and again till their time had come. Spainhower's bill is of that nature. Insofar as the condition of education in Missouri can only go from bad to worse, and insofar as the proposals for equalization and reorganization are bound to come up again in the coming sessions (and we hope ultimately with the support of the Governor), FOCUS/Midwest offers the following critiques — which range from outright support to cautious approval to strong condemnation — of the proposals at this time.

Three Views

JAMES I. SPAINHOWER

DAVID L. COLTON

ADOLPH UNRUH, EDWIN J. O'LEARY, EDGAR C. MILLER



“Reorganization will come when the pressures have become so acute that even administrators, teachers, and suburbanites will be forced to face up to their responsibilities”

JAMES I. SPAINHOWER

The original reorganization bill was withdrawn because of the unwillingness of the school establishment to come out in strong support of this measure. Teachers and administrators certainly want the money for a good education, but they do not want to mess with a sticky problem such as reorganization.

This lack of involvement only postpones the task, it does not solve it. It will have to be taken up again, possibly under even less favorable circumstances, when the pressures have become so acute that even school administrators, teachers, and suburbanites will be forced to face up to their responsibilities.

For that eventuality, it is of merit, in my view, to know more about these proposals, temporarily shelved.

The constructive movement to bring about a long overdue reorganization of the school districts of Missouri could help the state's public education system become as strong as Missouri's legendary mule.

This could happen, that is, if the efforts to build a sound school district structure can escape the tendency of some Missourians to use it as a scapegoat. There are those who would lay upon the school reorganization movement the blame for the inability of the state to solve some of the admittedly frustrating problems which confront public education in Missouri.

Like many other states, Missouri's public schools are faced with the problems of inequity in assessments, too much reliance on the property tax to finance schools, inadequate financing at the state level of both statewide and local district educational efforts, and a shifting population which causes disruption in both metropolitan and outstate school districts.

The educational problems which plague the urban and suburban school districts of Missouri are absolutely frightening in terms of their explosive possibilities. These districts must cope with mushrooming populations whose children clog their already overcrowded schools. Their teachers must wrestle with complicated and emotionally sensitive ethnic and sociological issues.

Many of the outstate areas of Missouri face a declining population year after year. Schools that once served as the focal point of a wholesome community life must be closed because there are not enough children to justify their continued existence.

Unfortunately, even the most perfect structure of school

district organization cannot solve these problems and many others, which are causing a real crisis in public education. Stronger school districts cannot make up for antiquated assessment valuations and practices. *The best school district structure possible will fail to provide quality education if it is inadequately financed.* The problems of racial prejudice, poverty, and a breakdown in society's morals cannot be overcome by better administered public schools. The lack of local economic resources in many parts of Missouri to provide an adequate tax base for a progressive school system cannot be remedied to any great extent by a refined school district organization. Two or three or even five economically poor school districts put together only result in one large school district that is still economically poor.

But there are some things school district reorganization in Missouri can accomplish. Missourians want and need a system of public education that enables every child of the state, regardless of where he lives, to receive an education adequate to prepare him to function effectively and with sense of personal fulfillment throughout his life. *Presently there are many areas of the state where children cannot receive this kind of a quality education in the state's public schools. School district reorganization in Missouri can help to provide equal access to such educational opportunity for all children.*

Many examples of the existence of unequal access to quality education are found in the St. Louis area. Metropolitan St. Louis is both plagued and blessed by the urban sprawl and mile after mile of suburban bedroom communities. The quality of education in the public schools varies greatly in the single school district of St. Louis City and the 25 school districts of St. Louis County. Too frequently the taxable wealth is in one district and the pupils in another. The resulting disparity is evident in the surplus of money available for the schools in some districts and the inadequate amounts accessible to other districts, as is demonstrated by Table 1. Consequently, the quality of education in the St. Louis metropolitan areas varies greatly from district to district.

Similar situations exist in other localities of the state.

Further, the multiplicity of school districts, many of which are too small in size to offer a quality program, deprives many Missouri children of access to adequate educational offerings. Out of a total of 786 school districts, Missouri has 94 districts which operate no schools at all and 218 which operate only an elementary school. (See Figure 1) The remaining 474 districts operate a full 12-year program but far less than half of the Missouri school districts offer kindergarten. More than half of Missouri school districts offer less than the 50 units in high school which the Missouri School District Reorganization Commission suggests is minimum.

Against this background of a growing need to tighten up the state's school district structure in order to prepare organizationally for the provision of a quality educational program for all Missouri children, Missouri's 74th General Assembly created the Missouri School District Reorganization Commission of nine members. The General Assembly instructed the Commission to study school structure in Missouri and bring forth a master plan for the reorganization of Missouri's highly complicated school district structure.

The Commission labored under the assumption that the legitimate end of their work was to formulate a plan that would, as the bill which created the Commission put it, "promote efficiency in school administration and improve the educational opportunities of the school children of the state."

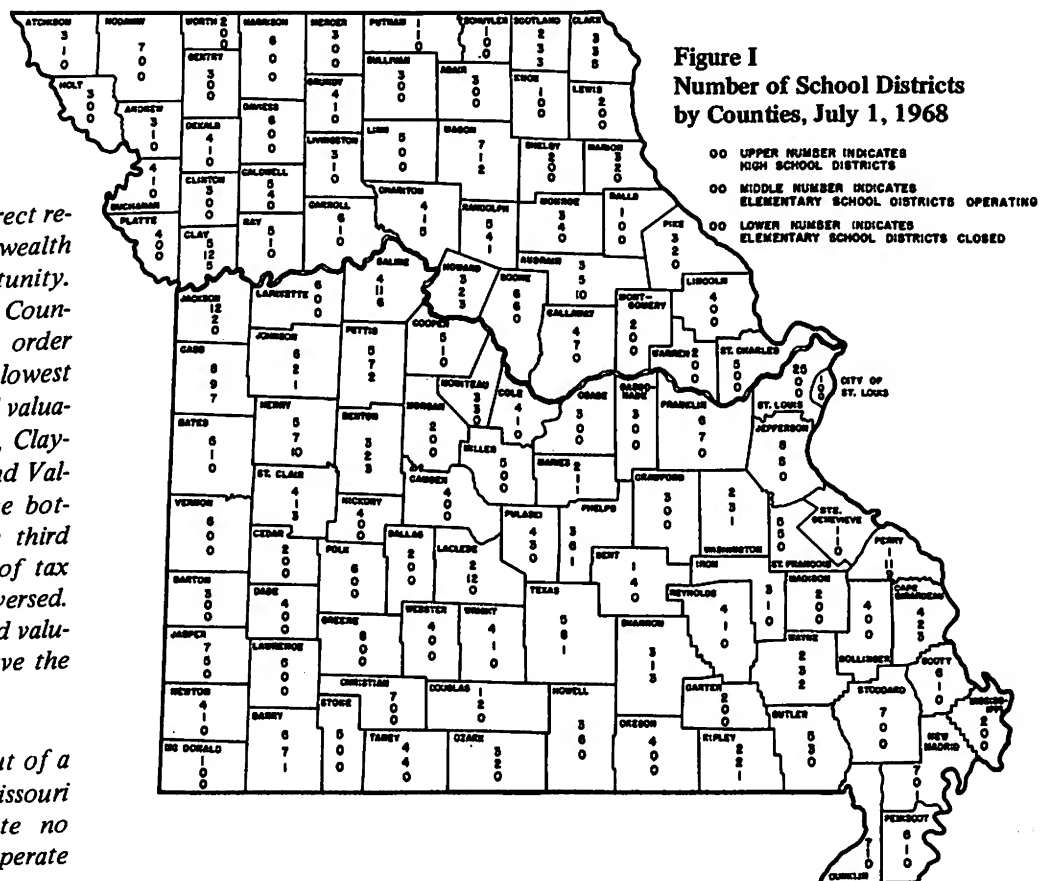
Rank Order of St. Louis County School Districts on Assessed Valuation per Pupil, on Expenditures per Pupil, and on School Tax Levy, 1966-67

Rank	School District	Assessed Valuation Per Pupil in ADA	School District	Expenditure Per Pupil in ADA	School District	1966 Tax Levy
1	Clayton	\$42,822	Clayton	\$1,176	Parkway	\$4.35
2	Ladue	25,271	Ladue	863	Wellston	4.24
3	Brentwood	22,217	University City	795	Kinloch	4.23
4	Jennings	21,059	Jennings	785	Kirkwood	4.20
5	Affton	17,275	Brentwood	782	Hazelwood	4.15
6	Maplewood	17,082	Maplewood	660	Webster Groves	4.07
7	University City	16,015	Affton	660	Ferguson	3.98
8	Berkely	15,867	Normandy	630	Valley Park	3.89
9	Normandy	13,740	Wellston	629	Rockwood	3.85
10	Webster Groves	13,326	Webster Groves	621	University City	3.72
11	Mehlville	13,080	Kirkwood	607	Riverview Gardens	3.71
12	Lindbergh	13,140	Pattonville	601	Pattonville	3.62
13	Kirkwood	12,370	Berkeley	551	Mehlville	3.58
14	Wellston	12,137	Riverview Gardens	544	Hancock Place	3.58
15	Bayless	12,027	Lindbergh	538	Lindbergh	3.50
16	Parkway	11,817	Mehlville	527	Affton	3.41
17	Pattonville	11,717	Bayless	505	Normandy	3.39
18	Hazelwood	11,316	Rockwood	505	Bayless	3.36
19	Hancock Place	11,223	Parkway	504	Ritenour	3.35
20	Riverview Gardens	11,153	Ferguson	495	Ladue	3.25
21	Rockwood	10,102	Hazelwood	491	Berkeley	3.20
22	Ritenour	9,642	Ritenour	484	Brentwood	3.13
23	Ferguson	9,417	Hancock Place	482	Maplewood	3.10
24	Valley Park	6,572	Valley Park	431	Jennings	2.87
25	Kinloch	2,715	Kinloch	425	Clayton	2.82

SOURCE: 16th Annual Report of the St. Louis County, Missouri Public Schools, 1967. (*) ADA: Average Daily Attendance

(Top) The table shows the direct relationship between available wealth and access to educational opportunity. The school districts of St. Louis County appear in virtually the same order when ranked from highest to lowest on both the amount of assessed valuation and expenditure per pupil, Clayton and Ladue are at the top and Valley Park and Kinloch are at the bottom of both measures. In the third ranking, based on the amount of tax levy, the order is practically reversed. Those districts with high assessed valuations and high expenditures have the lowest tax levies.

FIGURE I (right) shows that out of a total of 786 school districts, Missouri has 94 districts which operate no schools at all and 218 which operate only an elementary school.



The report of the Commission, released last fall, and the bill implementing the Commission's proposals, outlines an organizational framework which makes it possible to provide access to a comprehensive educational program for every child in Missouri. The design of the proposed system is simple with provision for various functions of education to be assumed at state, regional and local levels. *Planning and taxing for public education on a regional basis, while leaving the basic administration of schools to the local level, are among the more important features of the recommendations.*

The Commission's proposals do not envision any change in who decides where attendance units shall be located other than providing for schools to plan together for their future through the instrumentality of a regional board of education elected by the people.

The report outlines a three-year process for putting into effect the recommended master plan. The General Assembly is asked to create immediately 20 Regional Educational Planning Areas which become the 20 proposed Regional School Districts on July 1, 1972. A board of 12 is popularly elected in each of the 20 planning areas. This board is charged with a twofold responsibility. First, it is responsible for supervising the reorganization of the present 786 local school districts into 133 local school units (See Figure II). Second, it is its function to plan for the provision of access to a comprehensive educational program for every child in the region.

The reorganization process begins with the Regional Educational Planning Boards drawing up their own proposals for the reorganization into local school units of the existing school districts in their region. The Regional Board is obligated to conduct public hearings, consult with existing local school boards, county boards of education, and county school superintendents before drawing up their plan. These regional plans have to meet three conditions. First, they have to meet the criteria for school district organization adopted by the Commission. Second, they can not exceed by 50 per cent or 5, whichever is lesser, the number of local school units proposed in the Commission's master plan. Third, the plans have to be approved by the State Board of Education. The regional plan becomes effective after approval by a majority vote at a popular election of all voters in the region.

If after 2 such popular elections the region still has not adopted an organizational plan for its local units, the State Board of Education is directed to draw up a plan of reorganization in keeping with the recommended criteria and map of proposed local units submitted by the Commission in its original report.

Under the proposal, the reorganization of the local units and the creation of the Regional School Districts does not become effective until July 1, 1972.

The Commission proposes that local units retain nearly all the functions of present school districts, except that the major taxing authority is vested in the Regional School District. It is proposed that the board of the local school unit be permitted to levy a tax not to exceed 10 per cent of the levy voted at the regional level. The regional levy is proposed by the Regional Board of Education only after being presented at a meeting of the board members of the local school units within the region.

It is proposed that the Regional School District be administered by a board of 12 members elected at large in a popular nonpartisan election. It is also recommended that advisory committees, composed of representatives of the local school units, be formed to participate in the development and determination of the policies and procedures of

James I. Spainhower



the Regional School District.

Major duties of the Regional School District include the distribution of funds to the local units on a per pupil basis; supervision of the construction of school buildings; operation of vocational, technical, and special education programs; adjusting boundaries between local school units; and long-range planning for education.

The local school unit operates the local schools. It selects and appoints all administrative and teaching personnel for the local school unit and the schools within its area. The local school unit is administered by a popularly elected, nonpartisan board of nine members.

In a few areas, such as the development of a budget and the selection of school sites, the regional and local educational agencies have a shared responsibility.

They Kindled the Fire

The Commission does not contend its proposals are the only way Missouri can face up to its reorganization problems. They suggest though that their recommendations provide a place for Missouri to begin the process of bringing about the reorganization of its school districts into a strong, statewide structure of public education.

An old saying conveys very adequately how the Commission feels about its work and report: "They gathered the sticks, and kindled the fire, and left it burning." This the Commission has done. Now they trust that others who share their concern for the provision of equal access to educational opportunity for all children will keep the fire burning.

This reorganization task Missouri must begin, not to keep up with Illinois or New York or California, or some other state. This task must be begun not because Missouri is below some national average in this area or that. This task must be begun not because the state's sense of pride demands that its image be polished. This task Missouri must begin because it is eminently right that every child in Missouri have equal access to the opportunity to receive a quality education.

James I. Spainhower of Marshall, Missouri, is finishing his third term as State Representative from Missouri's 117th District which is composed entirely of Saline County. Spainhower, who is a clergyman, also serves as minister of the Christian Church at Bosworth, Missouri. In the Missouri Legislature he serves as Chairman of the House Education Committee, Chairman of the Missouri School District Reorganization Commission and as a member of the Interim Committee to Study School Finance. Spainhower holds the Doctor of Laws degree from Phillips University, Enid, Oklahoma; the Bachelor of Divinity degree from Lexington Theological Seminary in Lexington, Kentucky; and the Master of Arts in political science from the University of Missouri at Columbia.

"Pilot regional school districts should be established"

DAVID L. COLTON

A bill implementing the proposals of the Missouri School District Reorganization Commission was introduced — and killed — in the Missouri Legislature. The early demise of the bill is eloquent testimony to the political power of educators and others who wish to preserve the status quo. Unfortunately, their swift and lethal attack on the reorganization bill deprived Missourians of a splendid opportunity to consider an imaginative and significant plan. Perhaps this analysis can help prepare the way for subsequent reorganization plans which, almost inevitably, will incorporate many of the basic ideas proposed by the Reorganization Commission.

The report of the Commission is not likely to win accolades from educators or others who wish to preserve the status quo. Quite the contrary. The Commission's major proposal — that Missouri be divided into 20 regional school districts, and that the present 800 local school districts be reduced to about 133 local school units — would substantially alter existing patterns of control in education. That, of course, is precisely the aim of the Commission, for the studies conducted by the Commission show that the existing pattern of school control produces inferior education for too many children.

Undermining of the Commission's work began immediately. Unavoidable delays in printing the report were interpreted as a "plot" to withhold information from the public. The Commission was said to be attacking "local control." "Won't work," said some. "Can't get it through the legislature," said others. Errors and omissions in the report were detected and these, rather than the overall thrust of the Commission's ideas, received attention.

Such criticisms are inevitable responses to bold ideas. Some of the criticisms, of course, have merit and could lead to constructive modifications in the recommendations. The danger was from the start that an essentially sound idea would be lost in a barrage of tangential arguments and subterfuges, although *the Commission had advanced a plan which has great potential for strengthening education in Missouri, or, for that matter, in any other state.* The plan deserves serious consideration.

The Missouri School District Reorganization Commission was created by legislative action in 1967. Two decades had passed since the last major reorganization legislation. Much had been accomplished in that interval: the number

of districts in the state had dwindled from 8,500 to 800; St. Louis County's 86 districts had been reduced to 25. But by the late 1960's the pace of reorganization had slowed. Moreover some taxpayers in St. Louis County had just discovered a flaw in existing statutes and were initiating several ill-conceived and unsound reorganization proceedings which obviously were motivated by monetary rather than educational concerns. Faced with these problems, the legislature created the nine-member Reorganization Commission made up of legislators, educators, and laymen. The Commission was charged with the task of developing a master plan of school district organization which would "promote efficiency in school administration and improve the educational opportunities of the school children of the state."

During the past two years consultants were employed, available data was examined, and hearings were held throughout the state. The data collected by the Commission make it clear that a number of districts are being maintained for sentimental or financial reasons, that others are too small or too poor to offer programs which meet the state's own standards of quality, and that there are vast inequities in the taxable wealth available to different districts. As a result, many children are deprived of educational opportunities. Existing legislation gives little promise of rectifying the problem.

Regional Action Sought

The customary response to such findings is to develop a plan calling for more powerful legal tools for achieving district reorganization, financial incentives for the same purpose, a stronger foundation program to reduce the financial inequities among districts, and, perhaps, area special-purpose districts or cooperatives to provide specialized educational services and programs. All of these techniques have been applied in other states; all have been found useful.

Thus it comes as something of a surprise to find, near the end of the Commission's report, that the conventional techniques of reorganization are bypassed in favor of an approach which focuses upon *regional* action. The essential recommendation is this:

Regional school districts embracing several counties are proposed. Each regional school district would include several local school units. Regional school districts and local school units would be governed by elected boards

The regional school district would be responsible for levying a uniform tax for education throughout the region and distributing such tax money to the boards of the local school units. Other major duties would include the constructing of all school buildings; operating vocational education and special education programs; negotiating with teachers for salaries and fringe benefits; adjusting boundaries between school units as needed; and long-range planning for education. The boards in the local school units would have responsibility for the selection and assignment of teachers and administrators; determination of the quality and scope of the educational program; and the direction of all pupil personnel services. The board of education of the regional school district would perform its functions only after adequate consultation with the boards of local school units.

The first task of each regional board would be to devise and seek approval for a reorganization of the local school districts within its boundaries; such plans would be based upon reorganization criteria developed by the Commission and presumably would bear some resemblance to "advisory" reorganization maps prepared by the Commission.

Application of these recommendations would produce regional school districts such as the following two:

East-West Gateway: This district would enroll the 300,000 students now enrolled in the public schools of St. Louis City, St. Louis County, and Jefferson and St. Charles Counties. The 45 local districts which now exist in this region (with enrollments ranging from 300 to 115,000) would be reorganized into about 16 local school units with enrollments of 12,000 to 24,000. Thus the school district of the City of St. Louis would be broken into several smaller units, some of which would be merged with adjacent county districts. There would be a uniform school tax levy throughout the area instead of the current levies which range from less than \$3.00 to nearly \$5.00. Every child in the region would be backed by about \$13,000 of assessed property instead of the current per pupil assessments which range from about \$3,000 to more than \$40,000. The regional board of education would distribute tax revenues to local school units, operate certain specialized educational programs (e.g. vocational education and programs for the handicapped), engage in educational planning activities, and perform numerous other functions. Local units would be responsible for curriculum, personnel, and programming.

Bootheel: The Bootheel Regional School District would include most of Stoddard, Scott, Mississippi, New Madrid, Dunklin, and Pemiscott counties. Six reorganized local school units with an average enrollment of 6,500 students would replace the present thirty-nine districts in these counties. In most respects the allocation of responsibilities between the regional and local school districts would follow the pattern of the Gateway district described above.

Rationale for Regionalism

The Commission's overall plan is bold and imaginative. It offers much promise as a means of providing a school districting plan which would permit Missouri's schools to meet the demands of space age education. Yet, because the plan requires major changes in existing patterns of school district organization, it inevitably will provoke the ire of many powerful individuals and groups.

Unfortunately, the Commission's report does a rather inept job of building the case for regionalism. The rationale, to the extent that it is presented at all, is buried in a mass of details, footnotes, and charts. In fact the regional plan seems to be a kind of afterthought in the Commission's work. A much stronger case should have been made.

Unfortunately, the Commission's report does a rather inept job of building the case for regionalism. The rationale, to the extent that it is presented at all, is buried in a mass of details, footnotes, and charts. In fact the regional plan seems to be a kind of afterthought in the Commission's work. A much stronger case should have been made.

One of the first things to note about the regional concept is that it is an extension of a number of historical trends in Missouri and throughout the nation. In metropolitan St. Louis, for example, there are already numerous regional agencies, such as Bi-State, the Metropolitan Sewer District, and the East-West Gateway Coordinating Council. More pertinent, perhaps, is the growing array of regional educational organizations: the Junior College District, the Special School District, the Archdiocese school district, the Cooperating Districts of St. Louis County, The Suburban Teachers Association, the Metropolitan Educational Center in the Arts, The White House Conference, and the Central Midwest Regional Educational Laboratory, Inc. Comparable organizations exist in metropolitan Kansas City and in outstate areas. Thus Missouri's ostensibly autonomous local schools are already complemented by regional superstructures. Similar developments are evident outside the state. A number of states, for example, are creating "intermediate"

school districts; these regional districts typically overlay several local districts and provide certain specialized programs and services to the local districts. Regional organization patterns have been successfully adopted in Nashville, Toronto, and Dade County (Florida).

The concept of regionalism has been endorsed by several thoughtful observers of the educational scene. Superintendent William Kottmeyer of St. Louis as well as some leaders of the St. Louis County Cooperating Districts have advocated various forms of regional organization. The Advisory Committee on Intergovernmental Relations, which includes both Spiro Agnew and Edmund Muskie among its members, has strongly recommended regionalism at least in the metropolitan areas. Scholars such as Luvern Cunningham and Charles Benson advocate regionalism. While these observers differ in the details of their application of the regional concept, they agree that we live in a society which socially, economically, and educationally makes the old school district boundaries anachronisms.

The fact that an idea has historical precedent and intellectual respectability does not necessarily make it a good idea. There is a pragmatic test: does regionalism offer a good prospect for improving the efficiency of Missouri education? Efficiency bears some relationship to scale. The present districts of Missouri include some which are too big to be highly efficient and others which are too small; under the proposed plan the biggest districts would be divided into units more manageable and more responsive to their constituencies, while the smallest units would be enlarged so that they can provide comprehensive programs at reasonable costs. Moreover, within the regional apparatus it would be possible to assign functions to local units or regional units or both, thereby providing the efficiency stemming from flexibility — flexibility which heretofore has only been possible by creating new organizations such as the Special School District of St. Louis County. (The relationship between size and efficiency is not linear. That is, there are some districts which clearly are too small, and some which clearly are too big. But there is still a large range of school district sizes where efficiency is not affected by changes in enrollment. The districts proposed by the Commission are probably within this range.)

Adoption of a regional plan also should greatly improve the equality of educational opportunity available to Missouri's children. In general, the greater the number of taxing units in a state, the greater is the variation in wealth among the units. And we know that wealth is a primary determinant of the quality of educational programs. The Commission's plan reduces the present 800 school taxing units not to the 100-150 that a simpler reorganization plan would produce, but to a mere 20. Even with this number there would be substantial inequalities among the districts' ability to support quality education, but the disparities would be much less than at present and would be within the range of corrective action through a state foundation program. If such reorganization and refinancing of education produce, as expected, a reasonable degree of equality of education programs — i.e., if place of residence no longer determines the quality of a child's education — Missouri may be spared the embarrassment of a lawsuit such as the ones now in progress in Michigan, Illinois, and California. These suits allege that the states have failed to provide equality of educational opportunity; there is ample precedent for such a ruling.

Regionalism provides a means for bringing order to the inevitable movement toward collectivization of relationships between teachers and their employers. In some of the states where this movement is already far advanced, such as

Michigan, much of the early agony in dealing with the movement probably could have been avoided had it not been for the existence of a multitude of small teachers' groups and board groups which were not skilled in bargaining tactics or strategies. Large-scale bargaining such as that envisioned in the Commission's proposals should produce a situation in which both teachers and boards can bargain effectively. Moreover, regional salary schedules would prevent the wealthy districts from enticing the best teachers from schools where they are most sorely needed; teachers would be able to choose their place of work on professional rather than financial grounds. Local school units would have to compete for teachers not on the basis of salary schedules but by providing better opportunities for professional growth and service.

Regionalism also should greatly enhance the capacity of the educational enterprise to *plan*. Historically, educators have always had to play "catch up;" they haven't had the time or the resources to plan ahead. If education is to become more rational than it is now, it must have a planning capability. The regional school districts should have both the perspective and the resources to engage in planning ac-

*"Ghetto Schools should be placed
in the hands of ghetto residents"*

tivities. Moreover, they would have ready access to planners in other social enterprises.

The regionalization of school taxes should reduce the ominous pattern in which only the well-to-do (i.e., those who can afford homes which yield significant taxes for the schools) move to the suburbs. In different terms, tax considerations would become less important determinants of one's place of residence. Such a development would have enormous implications for improving the health of our society.

All these benefits of regionalism should bear fruit in the children of Missouri. Like it or not, our children are going to live in a world that is more regionalized than our own; surely they deserve to be educated in an organization which reflects the regional concept. Efficiency would help the children, too; there are too few dollars to permit the waste of any. Under the new plan all children should have access to the full range of educational programs, rather than just the children who reside in economically privileged communities. Educational programs should be better planned. The children might find less evidence for their current accusations that they live in a society oriented to financial gain rather than humane values.

Unresolved Problems and Limitations

There is a difference between endorsing the concept of regionalism and advocating the particular application of the concept which is presented by the Missouri School District Reorganization Commission. There simply are too many flaws in the Commission's proposals to warrant their immediate adoption. For example, while it seems natural and appropriate to designate the St. Louis and Kansas City metropolitan areas as regions, it is not at all clear from the report that the boundaries of the 18 outstate "regions" are natural or appropriate. (The organization of the Commission's report suggests that the major rationale for the regional concept is based on an analysis of the problems in

metropolitan rather than outstate areas.) One or five or fifty outstate regions might be more appropriate. Perhaps the state department of education, which has long concentrated its efforts on outstate areas, could perform many of the functions proposed for regional boards in the outstate areas. Or perhaps special purpose districts such as those being developed in other states would be more appropriate outstate than the regional districts proposed by the Commission. Did the Commission consider these possibilities?

A second weakness in the Commission's recommendations involves the proposed reorganization of the local school units. By its advocacy of regional school districts, the Commission has rendered obsolete most of the conventional formulas for determining the proper size of local school districts. Yet, the Commission employs these conventional formulas in its proposed criteria for organizing local school units within the regional districts. Since these criteria appear to have been developed *before* the Commission adopted the regional idea, the criteria probably should be re-examined.

Third, the Commission's proposals for allocating functions between regional school districts and local school units are questionable on many counts. For example, compensatory education for the educationally deprived is made the responsibility of the regional district; such a procedure flies in the face of current demands that control of the ghetto schools be placed directly in the hands of ghetto residents rather than in some remote bureaucracy. Similarly, responsibility for secondary vocational programs is assigned solely to the regional district; perhaps vocational education should be a shared responsibility. Also, it appears that teachers will negotiate salaries with the regional boards and will negotiate working conditions with the local boards — a plan which may or may not be feasible but which undoubtedly deserves some careful prior consideration.

*"The regionalization of school taxes
should reduce the ominous
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move to the suburbs"*

Fourth, the Commission is appallingly vague about the manner in which the regional board's major task — budgeting — will be performed. Except for a controversial provision permitting local school units to levy a tax of not more than 10 per cent of the regional tax, the plan anticipates that all school funds will flow through the regional unit. Modern budgeting techniques, which have been strongly recommended by the most recent study of school finance in Missouri, but which are scarcely mentioned by the Reorganization Commission, will almost certainly be required. (Probably these techniques will develop even without regionalization; the latter simply accelerates their arrival.) But very few educators are yet familiar with the new budgeting concepts or techniques. A great deal of careful study and training will be required.

Finally, it is doubtful that the Commission has adequately considered the problem of power in creating the regional boards. The boards will have great power but it is not clear that the Commission's proposals provide the boards with sufficient resources to allow them to exercise their power responsibly and efficiently. What is the appropriate size for such a body? How should it be selected? The Commission

provides no rationale for its specific recommendations (12-member boards elected at large on a non-partisan basis). Careful study is needed here, for nothing could be worse than ineffective regional boards (as our state and county boards of education have tended to be). Students of political science and public administration have long studied such matters; their views should be sought prior to adoption of any regional plan.

What Now?

The reorganization plan was killed by the Missouri legislature. Unfortunately, there had not been time to remedy the defects of the reorganization plan, to assess its relationship to other legislative proposals (e.g. bills to revise the state's school foundation program and to permit collective relationships between teachers and boards), to develop a broad base of public understanding, or to fashion a legislative coalition in support of the Commission's plan. Thus, the proponents of school district reorganization were burdened with a plan which seems basically sound but which is not yet "ripe" for adoption as state policy. The already-overburdened legislature was not likely to go through the time-consuming and thankless task of further developing the reorganization proposal. Nor was it likely, in view of the potential opposition to the plan, to adopt it without such further development.

An alternative course of action would be for the legislature to extend the life of the Reorganization Commission, and to direct the Commission to establish some pilot regional school districts for the coming biennium. These pilot districts could be created in metropolitan St. Louis and Kansas City and in two or three outstate areas. Members of the pilot boards might be selected from existing boards of education in each region. Substantial funds should be provided so that the boards could hire small staffs of experts and could commission needed studies. The boards would have no operating responsibilities; their task would be to anticipate the problems and procedures which would concern the real regional boards, should they later come into existence. Space age simulation techniques can fruitfully be employed for this purpose. Careful records should be kept so that the boards can prepare detailed recommendations for the 1971 legislature and can provide instruction to their successors in the event that the regional plan is adopted.

Adoption of such an interim plan would not greatly extend the period necessary for full implementation of a regional plan for school district organization. It would, however, provide an opportunity to clarify the anticipated benefits of the regional concept and to devise solutions to problems accompanying such a plan. If the benefits prove to be unattainable, or if the problems prove to be unsolvable, the legislature will not be committed to an unwise plan. On the other hand, if the proposal proves to be as sound as it first seems, advocates of the regional concept will have a considerably stronger base from which to argue. With further cutting and polishing, the basic recommendations of the School District Reorganization Commission could be of great value to Missouri's citizens and children.

David L. Colton is director of the Center for Educational Field Studies at Washington University, St. Louis.

IN OPPOSITION

"The responsibility and the function of providing equal educational opportunity rightfully belongs to the state. It should not be decentralized"

ADOLPH UNRUH, EDWIN J. O'LEARY, and
EDGAR C. MILLER

Legislation mandating school district organization in Missouri has been temporarily sidetracked. Representative Spainhower has introduced a substitute bill into the House thus forestalling debate and committee hearings. This is regrettable because the more public ventilation given to the reorganization problem the more the likelihood of achieving a solution. The problems of unequal opportunity, small inadequate districts, and unequal distribution of wealth still exist. The Commission on Reorganization should be reactivated, reconstituted, and financed in order to continue its work.

Current proposals to reorganize Missouri's school districts offer, indeed, a limited measure of equalization of taxable wealth; but the public energies spent on translating it into law will, for years to come, remove the pressure from the state and its executive to provide for true equal financing and, in the interim, continue uncalled for disparities in educational opportunity. Too much is sacrificed for too little gain.

The Missouri School District Reorganization Commission presented its plan for reorganization to the State Board of Education and information has been disseminated by the press precipitating opposition and confusion but few kind words.

Reasons given for reorganizing school districts in Missouri are to: eliminate small and inefficient districts, split up very large districts such as St. Louis and Kansas City, provide a more uniform tax base, and equalize educational opportunity. Two other reasons given by Rep. James I. Spainhower, Chairman of the Commission, are to eliminate islands of splendor and pockets of poverty. Thus, leveling the peaks of excellence, initiative, and innovation and filling in the valleys of poverty, apathy, and lethargy, it is conceivable that the whole state could regress to mediocrity.

Twenty regional districts based on the work of the State Planning Agency were proposed, which encompass 132 local districts. The 20 regions are by no means equal in anything. The gerrymandered boundaries leave peninsulas, isolated corners, and corridors in considerable number. The assessed valuation per enrollee ranges from \$4,208 to \$12,897 in the regional districts. The enrollment ranges from 716 to 30,080. In the St. Louis region, one local district will have \$9,636 assessed valuation per enrollee and another district \$25,027. It can be seen that inequalities

would still exist. The present bonded indebtedness is over \$450,512,000. The new regional districts will immediately be saddled with this large debt, and many will find it impossible to supply adequate facilities.

The necessary powers and responsibilities to operate schools are divided between the regional district and the local districts as follows: 17 are allocated to the regional district, 17 to the local district, and 22 are shared. The regional district is the more powerful since it controls the purse strings. The local district is responsible for supervision of instruction, teaching methods, and subject electives. Shared are many important responsibilities relating to finance, curriculum, methods, and innovation. This administrative organization and division of responsibilities will immediately generate severe problems and conflicts. Authority without responsibility leads to irresponsibility. Responsibility without authority leads to chaos. There are elements of both in this design.

The rural districts present the peculiar problems of geography, a sparse and dwindling population, and a diversity of resources. In 13 counties, for example, the total enrollment of high school students in each is less than 500 and the average number of schools for these counties is 2.4, too small to warrant a comprehensive curriculum. Some educators believe that 500 students should be the minimum enrollment for one school. Schools smaller than this have been found to be very expensive and there is some evidence that the quality of education suffers. Conversely, a school with an enrollment of over 1,500 may become too large to provide for individual attention from faculty and staff. Also the economic gains begin to decrease as enrollments rise above 1,500. Educators, generally, believe the optimum size lies somewhere in the range of 1000 to 1500.

The Island—of—Splendor Myth

Missouri has only a few wealthy suburbs (islands of splendor). Many of these have not yet faced the problems of providing their own municipal services, nor experienced the depreciation of property and the declining earning power of older residents. In such communities the enrollment has dropped off appreciably as the families grew older or moved away.

The size of the district is another important consideration. Many professional educators believe that 6,000 students should be the minimum enrollment permitted and the maximum figure is 12,000. In the Commission's plan the size of districts ranges from 716 to 30,080. Increased economic gains taper off when the student population increases beyond the optimum figure. Large schools usually have problems of bureaucracy, red tape, multiplicity of

"The objective of reorganization should not be to redistribute the resources of a few small districts reducing them to mediocrity . . ."

channels of communication, and inertia, all resulting in loss of time and increased costs.

Some suburban districts are in very poor financial condition and cannot support their schools properly because of statutory limits on the taxing ability, massive increases of pupils, community resistance to taxes, and voter apathy. Usually, wealthier districts are relatively small and therefore

show a large assessed valuation per student. If this wealth were redistributed among all the surrounding districts or shared with a very large neighboring city district, it would make little if any difference in their educational programs. But the program in the small wealthy district would be practically ruined. If one combines the three wealthiest districts in St. Louis County with the three largest, the result-

"The state must provide for the underprivileged child of the city, the child in the financially harassed suburban districts, and the child in poor rural areas"

ing assessed valuation per student is nearly the same as the present average for the County. Little would be accomplished.

Education Is a State Function

The objective of reorganization should not be to redistribute the resources of a few small districts reducing them to mediocrity, but to raise the quality of education in all the less fortunate districts. This is the state function. Any reorganization plan must be reinforced with significant increases in state financial support. Such support should guarantee to each district utilizing the same equalized school tax rate and an identical property evaluation ratio, the same number of educational dollars per school child.

The large city schools actually represent regional districts. Some persons have argued that the large city district should be decentralized. New York tried decentralization and reaped the whirlwind. However, many other large city school officials are studying decentralization plans. Some economies are possible through decentralization because the needs of subdistricts vary and decisions made at the local level make possible certain types of savings.

Regional districts are usually referred to in the literature as intermediate districts. There is some trend in the direction of establishing intermediate districts and they can be found in at least six states. These districts are of two types: voluntary associations of school districts and districts mandated by legislation. In the voluntary organization a number of districts cooperate to provide volume purchasing, special educational services, and research. Sometimes a local university is drawn into the organization to provide help and leadership. St. Louis County has such a cooperative which is working very well.

Legally constituted intermediate districts provide such services as special education, instructional materials centers, data processing, vocational-technical programs, curriculum development, extensive libraries of special items, federal program specialists, special clinics, in-service education programs, television programs, video tapes, films, special subject matter consultants, and research programs. These services supplement the programs of the local district, and may be on a cooperative, mandated, or contracted basis.

Some of the disadvantages of the intermediate district are: much of the decision-making process is removed from the local scene; another taxing unit is added to the many that already exist; the election hazards of the local district afflict the intermediate district but with broader effect; the tendency toward bureaucracy exists; problems of communication are multiplied; local initiative may be stifled; inertia and inability to respond to local problems may set in; rigidity and standardization may grow; and some of the services

now rendered by the State Department of Education may be duplicated.

Seven Districts Recommended

An alternative plan would be a combination of both the voluntary reorganization and mandated regional districts to provide the various special services. Seven such districts would be sufficient. They should be centered upon one or more institutions of higher education for a variety of good reasons. These districts could be located in the St. Louis metropolitan area, the Kansas City metropolitan area, and one each in the Northwest, Southwest, Northeast, Southeast, and Central Missouri. Improved curriculums, better use of facilities, better articulation between and among levels of education, and continuing education programs of a great variety would be among the results of such a reorganization.

But a wholesale reorganization should not be imposed upon the people of the state until there has been careful consideration of the present level of development of public education, nor without concern for plans, aspirations, attitudes, and feelings of the people. Reorganization has taken place in Missouri, slowly to be sure, but in an increasing tempo. Now the state's function ought to be to encourage greatly the process. The Table below illustrates the history of reorganization in Missouri:

Year	No. of Districts
1901	10,499
1920	9,468
1940	8,661
1950	6,348
1960	1,921
1968	786

The alternative plan proposed here can be accomplished through consolidations, mergers, reorganizations, and decentralization. The General Assembly should immediately pass legislation increasing the state's contribution to current school cost, perhaps in the order of 50 per cent. It should build or share the cost of new buildings. State legislation and state aid should discriminate sharply against small inefficient schools and any school closed for two years should automatically be eliminated through consolidation. There should be incentives for reorganization and transportation. It should be legally possible for the State Department of Education to contract for instructional services with private schools, colleges, or universities further eliminating inadequate schools and reducing costs. Quality programs should be rewarded by the state.

The responsibility and the function of providing equal educational opportunity rightfully belongs to the state. It should not be decentralized to the intermediate (regional) district, nor to the counties. Separate equalization plans for twenty regions can only continue the present confusion and permit the state to continue to avoid its responsibility. The principle of responsibility means that the state must provide for the underprivileged child of the city, the child in the financially harassed suburban district, and the child in the poor rural areas.

Merging wealth with wealth and poverty with poverty as proposed by the Commission is a most inappropriate method of providing equal opportunity.

The authors, Adolph Unruh, Edwin J. O'Leary, and Edgar C. Miller, are on the faculty of the Department of Education at St. Louis University.

Poems

SMALL ANIMAL / *Alberta T. Turner*

Have I found you?
Your den is narrow, has many holes.
But earth is hollow under the spruce log
And bare by the white stone,
And grass is broken on the bank.

Snow has lain two days now, and no tracks.
You are warm or asleep or afraid.

Yet I am no trap.
If I knew your food, I would bring it.
I would kill for you
Whom I have never seen.

I would put my arm deep into your den,
Who are my only chance
For a wet nose in the hand
Or teeth.

Children / *Knute Skinner*

My five-year-old son lies in bed
chanting songs of original composition.
My two-year-old son jumps up and down in the kitchen
landing first on one foot
then on the other
looking to me intently for approval.

I do I do approve
and I delight in the singing.
But I think I should do these things
even more than I do.
For it isn't enough the singing and jumping.
This is what warms the heart
but it isn't enough.

Some people live in their children more than others I suppose.
As for me, there are few things more rewarding than this
to have healthy and interesting children.
But it isn't enough.

Alberta Turner is lecturer in English at Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio, and the Director of the Cleveland State University Poetry Center. Her poems have been published in Atlantic, Harper's, Approach, Canadian Forum, Poetry Northwest, Midwest Quarterly, Quarterly Review of Literature, Massachusetts Review, and others.

Knute Skinner has been published in The New Republic, Antioch Review, N.Y. Times Book Review, New Statesman, Prairie Schooner, FOCUS/Midwest, and many other periodicals. He is the author of three books. The last, "In Dinosaur Country" (Pierian Press, Greeley, Colo.), was published in March, 1969. He is also represented in many anthologies. He currently lives in Ireland but teaches three months a year in the Creative Writing Program at Western Washington State College.

Prison College Program a Success

ROGER R. MORRIS

The following article grew out of a study which the author completed at the University of Illinois at Urbana. The total study covered the extent and nature of college education for prisoners in the United States. In his research the author gathered material from 45 states and the District of Columbia and produced the first study in this area.

The Illinois State Penitentiary at Menard, carved out of the rock cliff on the east side of the Mississippi River, must have been the prototype for all those late-show, James Cagney, convict movies.

Visitors as well as inmates are shaken down at various checkpoints, the guards speak confidently of the dangers of compassion, and the yard gangs shuffle by in ragged lines toward work details. One thing that sets Menard apart from the Cagney epics is that there are more black faces in real-life prison; but that is another story.

There is something else which is different about Menard, more modern than the old, pale-brick walls, and much more important. In spite of the emphasis given to the punitive aspects of imprisonment, Menard has been a forerunner in the most up-to-date area of correctional planning — college education for prison inmates.

It is no small accomplishment that a member of a Chicago ghetto gang can be sentenced to Menard for five to ten years on grand larceny with a fourth-grade education and go straight into his junior year in pre-law at the University of Illinois when he gets out on parole a few years later.

Similar accomplishments have been achieved with varying degrees of success about 50 times in the past six years. In most other states it could not have happened. The lack of such programs condemn many prisoners, all those willing to try education, to lead a life far below their capabilities once released.

Southern Illinois University, located only 40 miles away at Carbondale, is chiefly responsible for the surprising development at Menard. The Topsy of small universities, SIU is seemingly oblivious to the "backwardness" of Southern Illinois, or Little Egypt as the natives would have it, which envelops it.

With a campus bordered by high walls and menacing, circular guard towers, the "college gang" at Menard takes heavy loads of

college credit courses given by SIU faculty members behind the walls, hoping that things might go easier when they rejoin society.

Under the program, a student can acquire about 90 quarter hours of college credit, or to his junior year in college. An added bonus is that an inmate may take a proficiency examination, which, if he passes it, will give him credit for a course without having taken it.

Although elementary, secondary, and vocational education have long been a part of the rehabilitation process used by prison systems, legitimate college education for inmates was unheard of 10 years ago and is still in the experimental stages today.

The Curriculum

The Menard program, which had its pioneer course for credit in 1956, is still changing, but it is well-established within the prison community and can boast of many successful alumni. In the short span of its existence, approximately 50 ex-prisoners have continued their higher education at SIU or other colleges with several having earned bachelor's degrees, a few master's degrees, and at least one doctorate.

"In terms of continuity and size, it is one of the three or four programs that are fully operative in the United States," says Robert Brooks, a lecturer at SIU's Center for the Study of Delinquency, Crime, and Correction, one of the oldest such centers in the country. A former sociologist at Menard, Brooks screens all requests for admission to the University made by ex-inmates.

In many ways, the curriculum carried on behind the heavily guarded walls of the old, pale-red brick maximum security prison is like that of a real college. This quarter, the college is taking courses in oral interpretation, world literature for composition, and mathematics. They have textbooks, take notes in class, are given regular examinations, and are assigned letter grades at the end of each course. These grades are recorded in the students' case jackets for review by the Illinois Parole and Pardons Board.

Unlike the other inmates who take an occasional course, the gang, usually about 25 to 35 selected students, have to take all the courses which are offered — about nine hours each quarter — and are required to maintain a "C" average. As they are full-time stu-

dents, they are relieved of all prison work duty, are allowed to keep their lights on later at night, and are permitted to keep additional educational material, in some cases even typewriters, in their cells.

But as SIU President Delyte Morris pointed out in *The Nebraska Law Review*:

"Certainly the prisoner is not a typical student but he is a hard-working student because this is his 'job.' . . . His distinction is real. He has to produce. As he takes his class schedule, studies in the classroom or his cell, he has none of the multitude of distractions that accompany the normal pursuit of education. Yet, we must remember that he has few of the stimulations of the average college student."

If the similarities between the prison collegian and the campus collegian are great, the differences are even greater. A pipe-smoking inmate reminds one of the big-man-on-campus type, yet the standard uniform of prison blue wipes out any individuality. There is no class cutting or even any tardiness. The smooth-surfaced desks illustrate that there are no knives here to carve messages or initials. Above all, there is the ever-present guard who may be tempted to doze when the subject gets boring, but doesn't.

But it is the educational facilities, or rather the lack of them, that are most apparent. There is only one classroom, an isolated, second-floor room whose only windows give a view without bars of the vertical rock hillside behind the prison. In addition to the students' desk, it contains a file cabinet, a lecturer's podium, two green chalkboards, a roll-down map, and about 400 books — the total college library. It is nearly impossible to teach a chemistry, biology, natural science, or physics course or any other class which requires laboratory facilities. With the meager library, the student is very limited in the amount and quality of the research that he can do.

Although an inmate cannot get a college degree while at Menard, a similar program at the federal penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas, offers an inprison associate of arts or junior college degree in cooperation with three area colleges. At the California Institute for Men at San Quentin, Dr. Stuart Adams is attempting to establish a regular, four-year degree program with the aid of foundation grants. Although a great deal of the pioneering in this field has been done in federal institutions, significant college programs exist on the state level in Ohio, Texas, Florida, Michigan, and Maryland in addition to Illinois.

After the initial success at Menard, other colleges and universities in Illinois became interested. Following a conference on university-penitentiary relationships called in April 1964 by former Governor Otto Kerner, Northern Illinois University began offering courses at the large Joliet-Stateville prison complex, as did some junior colleges from the nearby Chicago area who brought in educational television facilities, a notable accomplishment.

Less notable, according to Brooks, is the earlier method of college by correspondence courses. "With a few exceptions, (they) have proven to be pretty much of a flop," he says. "You can't sustain an academic atmosphere."

Brooks is currently working with a college program at the new, highly automated federal prison at Marion. Less than 16 miles from Carbondale, the institution was built partially as a replacement for the famous Alcatraz prison in San Francisco Bay.

Although Menard has produced some "outstanding success stories," the environment at Marion is more conducive to receiving an education partly because federal offenders have higher levels of education than do state prisoners, according to Brooks.

One of the most notable graduates of Menard is David Saunders, a former editor of the *Menard Time*, a streamlined monthly which has been awarded first- and second-place prizes nationally for penal publications. After Saunders left prison in 1961, he attended journalism classes at SIU, later became editor of the nearby *Cartersville Herald*, and is now a member of the public relations and information staff at the university.

The difficulties in continuing with college on the outside was pointed out by a present member of the college gang, a bright, intensive Negro and a native of New York: "I'm 26 and when I get out of here I plan to get my degree, but I'll be getting a little too old to continue toward a master's. Besides, I have a wife and a family, and I'll have to start making some money — if I can find a job."

The devotion to helping prisoners become successfully integrated into outside society is a hallmark of the entire SIU-Menard program. For example, Charles Helwig, the university coordinator who also teaches prison classes, states that about 90 per cent of the college

gang did not receive regular high school diplomas. Rather most of them earned General Educational Development (GED) diplomas while in prison.

This does not make them less qualified than most regular students. Anyone who wants to be admitted to the college gang must first pass the Stanford Achievement Test (SAT) which is used by many universities. In addition, Helwig interviews each potential member before he is admitted.

But no one is turned down because of his criminal record.

Long-term prisoners who have little hope of getting paroled are being prepared to teach other prisoners in the penitentiary high school. Apparently, there is no racial bias in admission to the college gang. Of the 21 students in one literature class, seven Negroes, one Latin, and one Oriental were with the 12 white students.

Motivation not Questioned

At least one former professor in the program, Thomas Cassidy, an assistant professor of English, is not concerned with why the prisoner wants to be admitted to the college gang. Cassidy helped spark the plan in its early days, along with Brooks and Charles C. Clayton, a former city editor of the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* who taught the first credit course in 1956.

"He may be in class for the wrong reasons," Cassidy says, "but it seems to me that it doesn't matter, he is in class."

The selecting and teaching of the classes at Menard is done through the university's division of extension on the basis of courses needed and instructors available. The obtaining of instructors to teach behind the walls was no trouble at first, according to Brooks. Partially due to the novelty of the idea, deans, vice presidents, and full professors gave academic prestige to the program. Although the level of instruction is still good, it has "settled into the typical pattern of extension teaching," which, translated, means that the young and less experienced personnel are involved now.

Many inmates discover that teachers can also be good friends. A vice president, an academic dean, two professors, and a member of the library staff, among others, have traveled to the state capital to appear at a parole hearing. The same friendship is available if the paroled prisoner decides to continue his schooling at the Carbondale campus. Previous crimes are no deterrent. The university offers part-time jobs for the parolee just as it does for other students in financial need.

College education benefits only a small percentage of the Menard population, which fluctuates between 2,000 and 3,000. However, Brooks feels that it has an incentive effect on the other instructional programs at the prison. For this reason, he believes that there is little resentment of the college gang by other inmates, as it is "just another category of schooling," along with the vocational, elementary, and secondary classes.

Yet, Brooks is not satisfied with the Menard program. "We had hoped that the program at Menard could have been enriched and developed into a micro-collegiate community." He has urged that college inmates be given instruction via educational radio or television, that they be provided with an adequate library, that the commissary be stocked with quality paperback books, and that more prominent visitors to the Carbondale campus be allowed to speak also at Menard.

"But prisons are custody-oriented," Brooks says, "although they are not necessarily opposed to education." Leslie L. Hines, superintendent of education at Menard, says that the prison is trying to meet educational demands with the construction of a three-story, \$700,000 education building. The university also has ideas of helping parolees by providing small loans upon release to help them continue with their education.

College education for prisoners is in an embryonic stage. The experience gathered now should be evaluated and provide the blueprint for a massive, national program which would benefit many more than the one or two per cent at a few of our state and federal prisons.

Roger R. Morris is an instructor in mass communications at Arizona State University. While completing his master's degree at the University of Illinois, he was a staff member for the *Champaign-Urbana Courier*. He had also worked for the *Charleston (W. Va.) Gazette*

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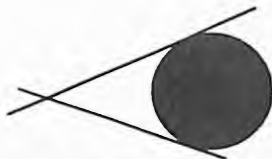
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An earlier issue of FOCUS/Midwest (Vol. 3, No. 6) carried a "Roster of the Right Wing and Fanatics" describing 45 organizations and its leaders located or active in Missouri and Illinois. The Roster is available at \$1 each. The following regular column keeps the information current.

Americanism Educational League

Myers Lowman, long-time head of Circuit Riders, Inc., has left Cincinnati and become head of the Americanism Educational League, a right-wing, super-patriotic group located on the spacious grounds of Knott's Berry Farm, itself a right-wing center in Southern California. Lowman made his reputation by publishing books on allegedly "subversive" records of clergymen and rabbis, combined with tours for Southern legislatures resisting school integration.

Catholic Laymen of America

The group has been organized by a number of conservatives to support their hierarchy on fundamentals. Located in Denver, it is directed by Frank Morriss, of the conservative *Twin Circle* publication; its president is Fred Schlafly, who with his wife Phyllis is active in numerous far-right movements. Earlier Morriss had been active in forming the Conservative Catholics United for the Faith.

Freedom Foundation

The ultraconservative Freedom Foundation presented an award to Gov. Warren E. Hearnes of Missouri at its annual meeting in September last year. Chief Justice Lawrence Holman of the Missouri Supreme Court presented the award.

League for Liberty

Through the League, Conservatives plan to police the news media by selective spending of advertising dollars, according to a report by Richard Wilson, head of the Cowles bureau in Washington. H. L. Hunt, Texas oil billionaire, one of the League's supporters, is quoted to have told the American Petroleum Institute that a bulletin would call attention which TV, radio, and independent stations are giving the "Liberty" side the best presentation.

The Minuteman

J. Harry Jones, *Kansas City Star* reporter, has written an incisive study of the Minutemen. (*The Minutemen* published by Doubleday, New York City, \$6.95.) This paranoid group, is a "microcosm of a fearful and fatalistic attitude that finds nourishment in

ultraconservative thought." The author foresees that some of its overwrought members may become responsible for some major tragedies, all committed in defense of "God, Country, and the Minutemen."

National Right to Work

The National Right to Work Committee and the YAF are collaborating on opposition to the national boycott on table grapes being conducted by the AFL-CIO and other groups. In conjunction with the annual meetings of the board of directors in St. Louis, a seminar for right to work

supporters from surrounding states will be conducted in March.

National Youth Alliance

The NYA was announced in a mailing signed by Taylor Caldwell, the best-selling novelist who contributes regularly to the John Birch Society's magazine, *American Opinion*, and headed the full-page ads in 1966 creating Friends of Rhodesian Independence to oppose U.S. policy against that segregated country. The Friends were substantially made up of Liberty Lobby supporters, and their public relations were soon

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handled by John Acord, doing business as the American-Southern Africa Council. Acord also organized Youth for Wallace during the 1968 campaign, and he moved a few days ago to a location 100 yards from Liberty Lobby, using the same phone number for his American-Southern Africa Council and for National Youth Alliance.

Press Ethics Committee

The Committee is the newest enterprise of Frank Kluckhohn, a right-wing activist and a veteran journalist. On January 14, Kluckhohn wrote prospective supporters that he wants "to bring our 'free press' back into line," a phrase reminiscent of H.L. Hunt's new campaign to monitor or police the news media to get more attention for conservative viewpoints. In the past few years, Kluckhohn has plunged into the right wing far enough to be a major speaker on Billy James Hargis's Christian Crusade. Most recently, Kluckhohn helped organize the United Congressional Appeal, which was so far out that several conservative groups refused to go along with it, and CEASE — the Committee to End Aid to the Soviet Enemy.

Right-wingers in the Gov't.

Dr. Richard V. Allen, who will be Dr. Henry Kissinger's deputy for national security matters, has addressed several meetings of the Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) and has been an articulate spokesman for the military-industrial-academic hard-liners. Allen, according to a report by columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, deserves particular attention. Allen won a honorable mention in an essay contest by the right-wing American Security Council which awarded its first prize to Dr. James P. Lucier, a contributor of racist literature to the John Birch Society. The American Security Council, which started as a private, vigilante-type service to employers to check the loyalty of job applicants, has "blossomed into a hard-line anti-Communist propaganda instrument..." The Council's angel is Pat Frawley, Shick razor magnate and benefactor of manifold rightist causes. Patrick J. Buchanan, a speech writer, has been a liaison between Nixon and conservative groups such as YAF, American Conservative Union, and Americans for Constitutional Action. William E. Timmons, a news assistant for Congressional liaison, was administrative assistant to Rep. Bill Brock, right-wing Republican from Tennessee. Harry S. Dent, who will be Nixon's Deputy Counsel, is chairman of the South Carolina Republican Party and was assistant to Sen. Thurmond before that. He has also been affiliated with the American Conservative Union.

Among more recent appointees of President Nixon of significance in the right-wing are the following:

Sol Mosher, top assistant to Commerce

Secretary Stans. Mosher has been top assistant to reactionary Congressman Durward Hall (R-Mo.).

Prof. G. Warren Nutter, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs. Nutter has been active in Free Society Association and similar groups. He spent a week at the far-out Freedom School run by Robert LeFevre.

Cong. James F. Battin (R-Mont.) U. S. District Judge. Another very conservative Congressman, Battin has supported Human Events and YAF.

Jerry W. Friedheim, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs. Friedheim has been working for Senator John Tower, the ultraconservative Texan.

Alice Hipsley, Congressional liaison for HUD Secretary Romney. After working for Republican Congressmen, she founded a public relations firm with former Congressman Don Bruce (R-Ind.), who is President of Constitutional Alliance.

Nixon's Postmaster General, Winton Blount, has been a Director of the Southern States Industrial Council, a collection of businessmen with numerous ties to the organized right wing which operates a lobby for reactionary policies.

National Council For Prevention of Drug Abuse

Both the John Birch Society and Constructive Action, Inc. have jumped onto the rightist bandwagon opposing "sex education." Dr. Billy James Hargis' The Christian Crusade, Dan Smoot's Reports, the Patriotic Women's Club of Iowa, have all joined the battle. The Birch Society and Constructive Action, Inc. are also distributing a new film on sex education called "The Pied Piper," sometimes subtitled "Modern Youth's Blind Rush to Self-Destruction." The film also deals with drugs, and CAI is promoting the film jointly with the "National Council for Prevention of Drug Abuse," at Park Ridge, Illinois. Graphics for the film are by Ken Granger, a Birch regular.

Church of Christian Liberty

Among the many friends of the crew of the USS Pueblo who tried to get the men back safely was an obscure preacher from the Chicago suburb of Prospect Heights — Paul D. Lindstrom, Chairman of the Remember the Pueblo Committee. Rev. Lindstrom was not entirely unknown, however. In early 1965, he had become leader of a new flock called the Church of Christian Liberty, which distinguished itself for several reasons. It had red, white and blue candles at the altar, included the "Star Spangled Banner" with hymns, and all members of its board were members of the John Birch Society.

Rev. Lindstrom hit the national news Dec. 22 of last year, when the Pueblo crew was released, because he had called a news

conference the day before to announce that the ship would be released. His possession of this kind of security information was challenged in the Senate by Stephen Young (D.O.), who also asked for an investigation of the leak.

1972 ?

George C. Wallace has changed his return address in Montgomery, Alabama, from postal box 1968 to 1972.

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The Death of Peter

HARRY J. CARGAS

A Catholic View of U.S. Bishops and Secular Society

In relation to the New Morality, people have spoken of the death of God. Much discussion resulting thereby was absurd. The chief by-product of the New Morality as far as many Catholics are concerned is not the death of God but the more verifiable death of Peter. Peter stands for the Pope and his bishops, the hierarchy of the Church which has incredibly signalled its own obsolescence, which daily broadcasts its irrelevance and which is frequently an embarrassment to a reforming community.

Some critics have said that those attuned to the New Morality have copped out. This is the kind of contradiction that needs to be exposed as a cover-up. The New Morality is a commitment to something, it is a positive force and many who sneer at it on these grounds have themselves copped off (not out) in a certain direction. They have turned their backs on racism, labor injustices, prison reform and all major social evils, particularly war. They have experienced Hiroshima, London, Dresden, Dachau, Algeria, Vietnam, Birmingham, JFK, MLK, RFK and Chicago and are still able to do *their* business as if little has happened. Any one of the above ought to have put them on their knees or better yet out in the streets marching. Instead they are more committed to pro football and other sports, taking time to interest themselves in current events only when black athletes threaten to boycott the Olympics and thus prevent the sport enthusiasts from enjoying all of the thrills due those who pay tribute at the forum.

Those who ought to lead us to moral outrage against such inactivity, the bishops, haven't meaningfully pronounced on any of this. They are busy instead, defining dogma which, important in itself, has little relevance to today's struggle for moral survival. Take an aspect of the virginity of Mary for example. I can't be overwhelmingly interested in whether or not Mary had children after she bore the Christ. Jesus' blood brother relationship is meaningless if we disregard the notion of his brotherhood to us, and of ours to each other.

Traditionally, Catholics have looked to their bishops and pastors for the application of moral principles. But with increasing secularization, education and communication, the situation has become much more hopeful. Harvey Cox says that "No one rules by divine right in secular society." I include bishops in this remark.

Bishops will have to learn that theirs isn't to rule at all. They pay lip service to the notion of serving, but the terms of their authority are not negotiable from Paul VI across to the rest of the bishops.

Bernard Zoelen has written that there are two kinds of authority, functional and existential. The first is properly exercised by mature people over the immature and dependent, as the parent with the young child. Existential authority is based on the maturity of all participating parties. In exploring this, Kenneth Schmitz says it implies full communication and this further implies authority on both sides. Schmitz says also that if the bishop fails to manifest Christ, he fails to communicate, which is the very heart of his office.

The Double Life of Bishops

And indeed it is difficult to see Christ communicated in the Illinois bishop who issues pastorals against racism and is a slum landlord under an assumed name. Where is Christ in the midwestern bishop who assists a system which encourages delays up to ten years in processing applications by priests for laicization, but who promises three priests in his diocese, who are active in civil rights, laicization in six months if they'll quit the ministry immediately?

What of the border state bishop whose picture is never seen in the paper with prisoners, the poor, the black, but can be seen greeting young debutantes at a civic ball, a ceremony which he could describe as "moving and impressive."

The Christ who preached poverty was surely absent from St. Louis at Cardinal Ritter's funeral where so many bishops flashed rings and flowed robes while insisting on having individual black limousines for the funeral procession and not doubling up, thus putting a ludicrous strain on the availability of funeral cars in the metropolitan area.

The good bishops, and there are so few of these, dare to be relevant. James Shannon of Minneapolis is one, and his appearance on one national television show on the new American Catholic caused him to be censured by the Administrative Board of the U.S. Catholic Bishops in September on a secret measure introduced by Los Angeles's Cardinal McIntyre. How is one to react to this or to one's moral

certainty that if St. Paul were a priest in Washington D.C. today, he would be reassigned to a parish in the boondocks by Cardinal O'Boyle for daring to speak his conscience.

The bishops are remarkable in their ability to capitalize on opportunities to prove their irrelevance. Early in 1968, meeting in St. Louis, they made what might have been significant joint statements on racial and urban problems. They spoke of implementing their ideas with programs, but were unable to fund those programs. More recently, in Washington, when they decided to establish a research program on the rhythm method of preventing conception, they raised a million dollars right on the spot.

This kind of episcopal effrontery is no longer being tolerated by people of vision and this is particularly true of increasing numbers of college students. They will have children and teach them a more honest respect for true existential authority (as opposed to functional authority). The hierarchy of Catholicism will feel it in decreased church attendance and particularly, therefore, in the manner they seem to react to the quickest: decreased financial contributions.

But the revolution or evolution (more accurate) which concerns the New Morality is not limited among Catholics to ecclesiastical authority or to matters which have been traditionally considered reserved for religion. The growth is taking place on the secular level too, as it is among so many members of society. There is a reaction to American nationalism, to a nation that can run George Wallace as a serious candidate for the presidency, to the profit-making mystique that seems to provide the basis for individual and national motivation. (I am convinced that Richard Nixon finds the terms "dollar" and "democracy" interchangeable on occasion.)

Let me point to two symbols of this national suicidal commitment to money ideals which are kinds of things those who opt for the New Morality either know or intuit. The first is the auto industry which for years obviously placed profit ahead of safety. Now that it has been forced by legislation to make certain changes, they make profits from these changes and advertise them as so many benefits bestowed by benevolent manufacturers.

A second symbol is found in this paragraph concerning the U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic:

Comes 1965. The Dominican Republic. Rebellion in the streets. We scurry to the spot with twenty thousand neutral Marines and our neutral peacemakers — like Ellsworth Bunker, Jr., Ambassador to the Organization of American States. Most of us know that our neutral Marines fought openly on the side of the junta, a fact that the Administration still denies. But how many also know that what was at stake was our new Caribbean sugar bowl? That this same neutral peace-making Bunker is a board member and stock owner of the National Sugar Refining Company, a firm his father founded in the good old days, and one which has a major interest in maintaining the status quo in the Dominican Republic? Or that the President's close personal friend and advisor, our new Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas, has sat for the past nineteen years on the board of Sucrest Company, which imports black strap molasses from the Dominican Republic? Or that the rhetorician of corporate liberalism and the late President Kennedy's close friend, Adolf Berle, was chairman of that same board? Or that our roving ambassador Averell Harriman's brother Roland is on the board of National Sugar? Or that our former Ambassador to the Dominican Republic, Joseph Farland, is a board member of the South Puerto Rico Sugar Company, which owns 275,000 acres of rich land in the Dominican Republic and is the largest employer on the island — at about one dollar a day? (*Protest: Pacifism and Politics*, Interviews by James Finn, New York, pp. 314-5.)

The Roots Are People

It has become cliché to say that the New Morality is interested in people. It has its immediate historical roots in

the I-Thou of Martin Buber, in the Situation Ethics of Joseph Fletcher, in the Personalism of Eduard Mounier. As Robert Johann has written: "The unit of the human is not the solitary 'I' — it is the 'we.' Man is essentially a community, his life is a communal affair, he exists only where a plurality of individuals is in communication with one another, and share a common life."

This is anti-legalistic and it is developmental. Fletcher points out that the basis of legalism in the Catholic tradition is Nature while in the Protestant tradition it is Scripture. Yet through techniques and education both of these areas, Nature and Scripture, are being recreated. A legalism which stands still in the face of such growth is doubly dead. As Daniel McGuire reminds in his discussion of *The New Morality in Focus*, "Deeper understanding often leads to new conclusions." If man today is not reaching a deeper understanding of himself, his actions and his motives, his existence is meaningless — absurd. Fletcher again presents truth when he insists that "Every action without exception is haphazard if it is without an end to serve."

Johann spoke to this point in a recent lecture at the divinity school at Yale. He said that the effect of our actions "has up to now hardly even been noted. Like the shape and style of our great urban complexes, it has been simply something that has happened — the unforeseen and unplanned result of innumerable conflicting aims and undertakings. And what we are now witnessing is the emergent awareness that this simply will not do, a kind of growing determination not to let it go on. This is what I mean by the birth of a new and transcendent focus of interest. It is an interest not merely in *doing* this or that more quickly and efficiently, but an enlargement and shift in our typical sense of the practical. We are beginning to be aware of the fact that the human quality of our lives is not something inevitable or foreordained, but the net result of what we ourselves do, and that we can therefore no longer afford to leave it to chance."

A psychiatrist-priest whose writings have caused him to feel the constraints of legalism as well as the effects of abused functional authority, Marc Oraison, is very much hopeful of the new trend in moral thinking. He says that "far from destroying morality, it should result in a more profound penetration into the significance and orientation of human behavior."

This growth must offset the inertia that is found in societies as well as individuals. When they don't grow, they are dead. Johann, when he says that the capacity for human renewal is the mark of all living things, is merely rephrasing Christ's statement about withering on the vine and dying.

Finally, Antonin Sertallanges defines morality as "the science of what man ought to be by reason of what he is." I would follow this with a reminder that what man *is* always changes. If man grows, his morality must also evolve. The New Morality is therefore a very hopeful, a truly necessary, development.

If man is the highest shoot of evolution, as the Jesuit scientist and philosopher Teilhard de Chardin puts it, then man's concept of morality must equal the magnificent dignity of his position in the universe.

Harry J. Cargas is the director of Orientation USA (Foreign Student Program) at St. Louis University. He is an editor, columnist, television moderator and sometime television producer. He is the author of three books, of articles in the New York Times, America, and many other publications, and has had published more than five hundred book reviews.

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IN SEARCH OF THE MODEL CITY A study of community participation in St. Louis, the groups, moods, and factors agitating the model city target area, and how "fighting for the good-ies" will permanently affect St. Louis politics. (Issue No. 38)



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